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TODAY'S WEATHER—PARIS: Becoming cloudy, showers. Temp. 64-83 (18-24). Tomorrow very cloudy showers. Yesterday's temp. 72-82 (22-24).

Table with exchange rates for various countries including Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, U.S. Military, U.S. Postal, Yugoslavia, and West Germany.

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PARIS, MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1971

Established 1887

Soviet Expert On Space Gets Asylum in U.K.

By John M. Lee

LONDON, June 20 (NYT).—Anatol Fedoseyev, a Russian space expert who disappeared from his Paris hotel May 27, has asked and been granted permission to stay in Britain.

The Russian, 52, had been described in Paris as a vice-minister in charge of the Soviet Union's space research. He was said to have been particularly involved in the Luna program's robot exploration of the moon and in the current Soyuz-Salyut space station work.

As such, he would be one of the highest ranking Russians to defect to the West.

A spokesman for the Russian Embassy in London, Nicolai Eleshov, refused to confirm the scientist's identification and said: "We don't know anything about the whereabouts of Mr. Fedoseyev. Everybody's off."

Western diplomats in Moscow said that Mr. Fedoseyev was unknown to them and that his name was unlisted in any Soviet reference work. However, diplomats noted that it was standard Soviet practice not to identify scientists involved at working level in the space programs.

Mr. Fedoseyev's disappearance from the Russian delegation to the Paris show was revealed only yesterday by official French sources. There were rumors that he had been flown by a U.S. helicopter to Brussels and the headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and then flown on to Washington.

But this afternoon, Agence France Presse, the French news agency, quoted informed sources in Paris as saying that the scientist had found refuge in England and was living in a London suburb with an English girl friend.

Scotland Yard at first denied any knowledge of such circumstances. But shortly afterward, spokesmen for both the Home Office and the Foreign Office confirmed his presence and indicated that he had been granted asylum.

The spokesman would not say how or when he entered the country, and he gave no indication as to his exact whereabouts or his plans. The only suggestion was that he was staying with friends.

However, the news of Mr. Fedoseyev's presence here stirred speculation as to what he might tell U.S. space officials.

Any high-level experience and knowledge in putting the Russian space laboratory into operation would of course be invaluable. U.S. plans call for the launching of a manned space station, Skylab, in 1973.

English scientists were also excited.

Also the Most Beautiful

Mummy of 2500 BC Found In Egypt; Called the Oldest

CAIRO, June 20 (UPI).—Archaeologists have discovered the "most beautiful, most intact and most ancient" mummy yet found by man, the newspaper Al-Ahram said yesterday.

It said unearthing of the mummy, a 450-year-old mummy was "historically and scientifically a great and more valuable discovery" than the Tutankhamen tomb unearthed by Lord Carnarvon in 1922. The mummy is 1,000 years older than Tutankhamen.

The mummy is of a musketeer called Nifur, which means "beautiful" and like the Tutankhamen mummy, it was discovered in its original burial ground untouched by ancient thieves.

There usually pillaged the graves of nobles who had many precious articles buried with them for use in the after-life.

"There is nothing unusual about discovering a pharaonic mummy," Al-Ahram said. "But to dig up a mummy whose age is almost 5,000 years has never happened before. It will change a lot of the information held by archaeologists on mummies."

The mummy was found at Sakkaria, 15 miles southeast of Cairo.

An Accidental Find CAIRO, June 20 (AP).—Harshard digging by an illiterate worker unearthed the mummy. Amn Rifei, the worker, mistakingly dug into a right-hand-side section of the old tomb of Sakkaria. The mummy escaped pillage because it was buried in an "unsacred" right-hand-side place in the tomb. The sun god Ra had forbidden Egyptians to bury their embalmed bodies in right-hand-side places, according to an Egyptian belief.

But Nifur had asked his wife Kinsu (the moon) to disregard the writs of Ra and bury his mummy in a right-side spot within their tomb, apparently to



TOGETHERNESS (?)—South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu, front, Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky, center, and Cao Van Vien, Chief of General Staff, in Saigon Saturday during the national armed forces day parade.

No Attack by Reds as Feared

Thieu, at Saigon Parade, Sees A Future Free of Communism

By Iver Peterson

SAIGON, June 20 (NYT).—The South Vietnamese government celebrated armed forces day yesterday with a snappy show of military muscle and promises from President Nguyen Van Thieu that the army would assure a South Vietnam "free of Communism in any form."

"The Communists do not have the right to demand or to force us to give up territory to them, to form a coalition government, or a neutralist government of their own choosing, a government which would let the Communists freely carry out their activities in South Vietnam. These are unacceptable demands," the president said in a brief address.

The focus of the parade was the South Vietnamese Army (ARVN) campaign in Cambodia and Laos. Just before his short speech, the president pinned medals on 30 ARVN soldiers for their battle heroism in the two neighboring countries.

Stringent Security The 2 1/2-hour parade was the result of more than two months of preparations that saw major roads around Saigon's red brick Catholic cathedral blocked to traffic weeks ago. Stringent security measures were taken.

It was the first armed forces day parade here since 1967, when the enemy managed to set up a mortar in a roofless downtown house and pumped several mortar rounds onto the parade route before it got under way.

Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky, who will probably run against President Thieu for the presidency this fall, appeared in the dark Nehru jacket that has become his trademark.

Dignitaries of the diplomatic corps and foreign military staffs in Saigon were also present. Deputy U.S. Ambassador Samuel

incomplete, but it contains much fresh information. Perhaps the most surprising finding in Dr. Alexander's study is the report that former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Min-

nesota, the unsuccessful anti-war candidate for the Democratic nomination, spent \$11 million. At the time, his effort was pictured as poorly financed.

Nixon Got \$300,000 From Men He Named Envoys

WASHINGTON, June 20 (AP).—President Nixon received nearly \$300,000 in campaign donations from wealthy backers whom he later named U.S. ambassadors, a study released yesterday indicated.

Arthur K. Watson, who was named ambassador in Paris, topped the list with more than \$50,000 for Mr. Nixon's 1968 race.

Mr. Watson was among the envoys who also gave money last fall through a hidden fund-raising operation run by a former White House aide to steer an estimated million dollars into key 1970 Republican Senate campaigns.

Reverend rich donors with notable foreign posts, and continuing to collect contributions from them, is an old political custom used by many previous presidents.

Two Courts to Decide Today On Publishing War 'Secrets'

Post Prepares Plea Against Injunction

By Sanford Ungar

WASHINGTON, June 20 (WP).—The Washington Post suspended publication yesterday of a series of articles based on a secret Pentagon study of the origins of the Vietnam war, after a federal appeals court earlier yesterday issued a temporary restraining order pending a full hearing tomorrow on whether the articles could endanger national security.

Attorneys for The Post said last night that they would not seek reversal of the U.S. Court of Appeals decision from Chief Justice Warren E. Burger "at this time."

Instead, they said that they would prepare testimony for the hearing on the government's request for an injunction against The Post, which U.S. District Court Judge Gerbard A. Gesel scheduled for 8 a.m. tomorrow.

Judge Gesel, who had ruled Friday night that The Post could continue with its series, is working under a court of appeals order that he conclude his hearing and make a decision by 5 p.m. tomorrow.

The Post decision not to appeal to the Supreme Court was made only after the newspaper learned yesterday that a judge on the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York had delayed until noon tomorrow a decision on whether a similar series of articles can appear in The New York Times.

The Justice Department has contended that the articles in both newspapers—based on a 47-volume study entitled "History of U.S. Decision-Making Process on Vietnam Policy"—could result in "irreparable injury" to the defense interests of the United States.

But both newspapers have argued against that contention and claim that the constitutional right of freedom of the press is at stake.

Judge Gesel, after summoning lawyers for the government and The Post to his chambers yesterday morning to arrange the hearing tomorrow, said that he would spend today studying the majority and dissenting opinions of the appeals court here, which were issued last night.

Writing for himself and Judge Roger Robb, Appellate Judge Spottswood W. Robinson 3d said, in the opinion restraining The Post, that "freedom of the press, as important as it is, is not boundless."

He asserted that the government should have an opportunity to prove its allegations that the series of articles in The Post would endanger national security.

Sharp Dissent In a sharply worded dissent, Judge J. Skelly Wright insisted that "neither obscenity nor the overthrow of the government" is at stake in The Post series of articles, which he said appears to be based primarily on material of a historical nature.

"This is a sad day for America," Judge Wright wrote at the start of his attack on his colleagues' decision in the government's favor.

He complained that the Justice Department allegations about The Post articles had been "vague" and insubstantial.

The three appeals judges debated for three hours over their decision in The Post case early yesterday morning, although attorney Roger Clark, representing the newspaper, had warned them that the presses would be rolling with editions containing the second installment in "The Post series moments after their 35-minute hearing concluded.

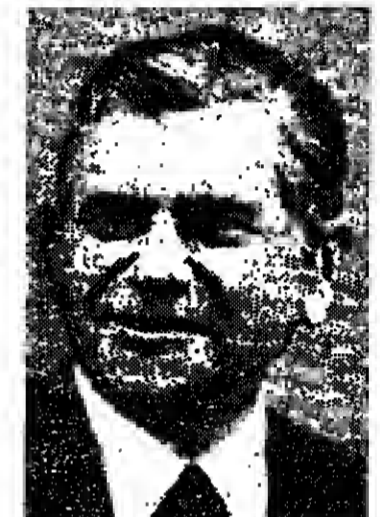
By the time the order restraining The Post had been issued, a considerable number of copies of yesterday's newspaper had already been printed.

The second installment of the Vietnam series had also been distributed to the 325 clients of the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service.

Apprised of those facts, the appeals court clarified its decision to say that its order did not prevent publication of the second installment, so long as it was not (Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)



Judge Murray I. Gurfein of U.S. District Court.



Judge Irving R. Kaufman of U.S. Court of Appeals.

U.S. District Judge Upholds N.Y. Times

By John P. MacKenzie NEW YORK, June 20 (WP).—A federal judge held yesterday that publication of the Pentagon's Vietnam war history would cause only "some embarrassment" and no danger to the government. But an appellate judge blocked The New York Times from printing it at least until tomorrow.

Judge Murray I. Gurfein, finding that even the government's secret evidence proved no more than a case of "the fitters" among security agents and some foreign governments, said that his unprecedented four-day restraining order against The Times should end.

Within an hour, however, Judge Irving R. Kaufman of the Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, the only appellate judge in the federal courthouse, extended the restraining order until noon tomorrow to enable a panel of three judges to assemble and hear the case.

The Times decided against further appeal to a Supreme Court justice and chose instead to seek a prompt affirmation of Judge Gurfein's decision in the Court of Appeals tomorrow.

Judge Gurfein issued his 16-page opinion with references to the need for a free press as a "safety valve" in "troubled times," but he dealt his severest blow to the Justice Department injunction suit by dismissing pleas of an imminent military and diplomatic "disaster."

Despite a four-hour closed session Friday that gave the government "an opportunity to pinpoint what it believed to be vital breaches to our national security," he said, "no cogent reasons were advanced as to why these documents—except in the general framework of embarrassment—vitality affect the security of the nation."

Judge Gurfein said that he had the power to block publishing of the documents in an emergency—a point conceded by The Times in theory—but that the government simply failed to produce enough evidence to raise "the delicate question" of when to use that power.

He said that the government's claim had an especially heavy burden in light of "the compelling force" of First Amendment press freedoms. The judge wrote:

"If there be some embarrassment to the government in security aspects as remote as the general embarrassment that flows from any security breach, we must learn to live with it. The security of the nation is not at the ramparts alone. Security also lies in the value of our free institutions.

"Antagonistic press, an obnoxious press, a ubiquitous press must be suffered by those in authority in order to preserve the even greater values of freedom of expression and the right of the people to know."

"There are troubled times," the judge concluded. "There is no greater safety valve for discontent and cynicism about the affairs of government than freedom of expression in any form. This has been the genius of our institutions throughout our history. It has been the credo of all our presidents."

Judge Gurfein emphasized that in his view "there has been no attempt by the government at political suppression. There has been no attempt to stifle criticism."

The government, he said, sought the injunction "in absolute good faith to protect its security and to disclose a means of suppressing dissent or contrary political opinion," he said. "It has been publicly stated that the present administration had adopted a new policy with respect to Vietnam."

But the administration's new Vietnam policy, the judge said, only emphasized that "prior policy" as reflected in the military archives "must be considered as history rather than as an assertion of present policy" that could be damaged by exposure.

Just as the administration had acted in good faith, he said, so had The Times in publishing three parts of a series and pressing its right to print more. Noting that the government conceded "the good faith" of The Times, Judge Gurfein cast doubt on whether the government could ever succeed in a subsequent criminal prosecution of the newspaper.

The federal criminal law, which the government said was the prime source of its right to an injunction, specifies that an accused "willfully" communicate classified information which be unlawfully possesses.

Dissecting the law, which is part of the espionage section of the criminal code, the judge said that Congress' failure to specify bans on "publication" was another reason for refusing to act against The Times.

He found no reasonable likelihood that the government could ever prove bad faith or other key elements under the law in the suit filed Tuesday.

"This has been an effort on the part of The Times to vindicate the right of the public to know. It is not a case involving an intent to communicate vital secrets for the benefit of a foreign government or to the detriment of the United States," he said.

The judge noted that research (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Nixon Says Primary Concern On Disclosures Is the Law

By Carroll Kilpatrick

KEY BISCAYNE Fla., June 20 (WP).—The White House said yesterday that the Nixon administration's interest in stopping the publication of Pentagon papers dealing with the Vietnam war is not to defend a previous government but to enforce the laws of the land.

Presidential press secretary Ron Ziegler, questioned about the court cases against The New York Times and The Washington Post, said that President Nixon's concern "goes to the legalities of the matter and then to what appears to be highly improper handling of highly classified material."

He insisted that the President believes in freedom of the press and full disclosure of information consistent with national security.

From the beginning of the discussions on publication of the documents from the Pentagon study, Mr. Ziegler has tried to dissociate the Nixon administration from the policies of the Johnson administration.

The papers cover the record of the Johnson administration. Mr. Ziegler reiterated almost every day last week when questioned about the matter. The Nixon administration adopted different policies after making its own examination of the record, he said.

"Our purpose is not to defend the record of the previous administration, or to defend the presidential advisers of past administrations, or the content of the memoranda which have been published up to this point," Mr. Ziegler said yesterday. "But we do have a responsibility and an obligation to enforce the law of the land and that is what we are doing."

Mr. Ziegler then emphasized two points made earlier last week by Secretary of State William P. Rogers when he said governments must be able to deal with one another in a confidential way and that presidential advisers must be able to speak candidly without feeling everything they say will be printed.

Mr. Nixon has tried to move toward "openness and full articulation of our policies," Mr. Ziegler said. "We feel very strongly that the American people have a right to know, as the Secretary of State said the other day, a good deal, consistent with the national security."

Herbert G. Klein, the administration's director of communications, reportedly told a group of reporters in a "background" meeting on Thursday that the President also is concerned that a precedent might be set for future disclosures of secret documents.

Study Shows \$300 Million Was Spent on 1968 U.S. Presidential Election

By R. W. Apple Jr.

WASHINGTON, June 20 (NYT).—The campaigns of 1968 cost \$300 million, more than ever before, and represented a 50 percent increase in only four years. The Republicans outspent the Democrats almost 2 to 1.

By comparison, the increase in the 12 years between 1952 and 1964 was only 43 percent. The 1964 in the cost of getting elected reflected the enormous cost of television, the fact that both major parties had presidential primary contests, and the candidacy of two multimillionaires—the late Robert F. Kennedy and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

The cost per vote was 60 cents, also a record.

Those are the conclusions of the most extensive survey of campaign spending ever undertaken. It was carried out by the Citizens' Research Foundation of Princeton, N.J., and is detailed in "Financing the 1968 Election," a book by the foundation's director, Herbert E. Alexander. The book will be published Thursday.

Because of the looseness of the reporting laws, the tabulation is

incomplete, but it contains much fresh information. Perhaps the most surprising finding in Dr. Alexander's study is the report that former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Min-

nesota, the unsuccessful anti-war candidate for the Democratic nomination, spent \$11 million. At the time, his effort was pictured as poorly financed.

Five contributions of more than \$100,000: Ellsworth T. Carrington, a 46-year-old Wall Street account executive (customer's man), who said he made his money "in the market," \$100,000; Mr. and Mrs. Martin Peretz, of Cambridge, Mass. — a Harvard professor who is married to a Singer Sewing Machine heiress—\$100,000; and Alan Miller of Boca Raton, Fla., \$100,000.

Mr. Miller, a retired industrialist from Pennsylvania, is one of the shadowy figures on the list. Not much is known about him except that he is an elderly former Republican who came forward voluntarily because of his opposition to the Vietnam war and sent two unsolicited \$50,000 checks.

At one point, he came to New York in an ambulance to meet with Howard Stein, one of the principal McCarthy fund raisers. He was unable at the time to sit up because of a back ailment. Mr. Stein visited him at the St. Regis Hotel and came away with another contribution.

The campaign of 1968, Mr. Alexander writes, "brought more left-of-center or moderate money onto the political scene than at any time" in history. Yet the third-party candidacy of George C. Wallace of Alabama was also well financed. It cost at least \$9 million, most of which (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

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Four other ambassadors—Mr. Humes, Mr. Middendorf, John D.J. Moore, in Ireland, and Shelby C. Davis, in Switzerland—were found at the same time to be major donors in a single Senate campaign, in Maryland. Mr. Davis gave in other states also.

Anthony D. Marshall, research executive, \$25,000, Malaysia Republic. John C. Pritzlaff Jr., state legislator, \$23,000, Malta. Kingdon Gould Jr., business executive, \$22,000, Luxembourg. J. William Middendorf 2d, stockbroker, \$15,000, Netherlands. Luther I. Replogle, corporation president, \$6,500, Iceland. J. Fife Symington, retired executive, \$6,000, Trinidad. Philadelphia publisher Walter H. Annenberg, who got the cherished appointment as ambassador to Great Britain, was a minor donor who gave only \$2,500 to Mr. Nixon's campaign in 1968.

But Mr. Annenberg, Mr. Watson and a Houston oilman chosen as ambassador to New Zealand, Kenneth Frankham 2d, were all named by campaign insiders as feeding several thousand dollars through hidden Republican party channels in Washington for key Senate races in 1970.

Troops Use New Weapon In Belfast

Fire Rubber Bullets Over Heads in Mob

BELFAST, June 20 (UPI)—British troops opened fire yesterday to drive back a crowd of about 400 Roman Catholics attempting to break up a Protestant parade.

The clash came as other army units held back a crowd of about 500 Protestants who broke away from the main body of the march and surged toward the Catholic Mayo Street area.

No injuries or arrests were reported in either incident, according to an army spokesman, who said the troops fired "a number of rounds" above the crowd's heads.

More than 3,000 banner-waving Protestants, wearing bowler hats, white kid gloves, orange sashes and carrying rolled umbrellas, the traditional Orange Order regalia, marched in the parade commemorating the 17th-century victory of Protestant King William of Orange over the Roman Catholic forces of King James II.

"Go home, you bums, go home," one group of Roman Catholics shouted at the marchers from behind an army barrier.

Several of the 30 Protestant clergymen accompanying the marchers ran up. "In the name of God, don't be provoked," one urged.

All streets leading to the three-mile parade route, which wound out of the Protestant Shankill area and back again, were blocked off by more than 2,000 troops and police.

Soldiers with rifles pointed toward onlookers escorted the marchers. Police and army marksmen covered the route from rooftops. Armored cars, water cannon and ferret tanks were parked on side streets.

2 French Killed, 6 Hurt in Clash With Chad Rebels

FORT LAMY, Chad, June 20 (Reuters)—Two French paratroopers were killed and six French soldiers wounded in a clash with dissident tribesmen in the north of Chad on Friday, it was announced here today. Both paratroopers were serving with the 6th Regiment of overseas infantry, the report said.

Forty-three rebel tribesmen were killed, and 17 wounded were taken prisoner in the fighting, which occurred 85 miles from N'Gazou in the prefecture of Borku Ennedi Tibesti, the announcement said.

Chad forces, which suffered one killed and one wounded, captured 35 weapons, including a Lewis machinegun and ammunition.

The clash occurred two days after France announced it had completed the withdrawal of its expeditionary force from Chad. Military sources said in Paris today the troops involved in the clash were part of French units permanently based in the African republic under a mutual defense agreement signed some ten years ago.



BARRICADE—British soldiers behind barbed wire facing large Roman Catholic crowd during Orangemen's parade in Belfast Saturday. There were no major incidents.

B-52 Raids at DMZ Go On; 700 Tons Dropped in Week

SAIGON, June 20 (UPI)—U.S. Air Force B-52 bombers continued to make intensive air raids today against North Vietnamese infiltration routes just below the Demilitarized Zone. They have dropped more than 700 tons of bombs in the area since last Sunday.

The targets—North Vietnamese storage areas and fortifications—in northern Quang Tri Province around the abandoned U.S. Marine base at Khe Sanh were in the same areas that U.S. and South Vietnamese troops passed through last February and March on their incursion against the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos.

Since the end of that operation, the North Vietnamese have been moving back into the area and building up their forces in northern Quang Tri, according to senior U.S. and Vietnamese military officials. Yesterday, Communist gunners fired more than 50 rockets and mortar rounds into three South Vietnamese base camps just below the DMZ.

No deaths in attack. The Saigon command said that only one of the attacks did any damage and caused "very light casualties with no fatalities."

Many of the B-52 missions last week were flown against rocket-launching positions in mountain ridges above the bases. An American troop position three miles northwest of the Montagnard refugee village of Cam Lo was mortared last Monday, causing an undisclosed number of injuries, but American involvement in the far northern area has been light for the past week.

The last major remaining American unit in Quang Tri province, the First Brigade of the Fifth Infantry Division (Mechanized), is scheduled to be withdrawn later this summer, according to sources in the brigade.

U.K. Asylum Given Soviet Space Expert

(Continued from Page 1) cited by the possibility that Mr. Fedoseyev might reveal whether the Russians hoped that their space stations would be able to track Polaris nuclear submarines. The concept is that nuclear submarines might be tracked through the vast amount of heat produced by their reactors.

The Paris reports bringing the first public spotlight on Mr. Fedoseyev yesterday indicated that he departed the West when he disappeared three weeks ago. Mr. Fedoseyev was the deputy head of a large Soviet delegation to the International Air and Space Exhibition at Le Bourget airport.

The reports from French officials said the Russian expert had sought asylum from French authorities at Le Bourget on May 26, the day before the show opened.

Pressures Reported. However, the French were reluctant to commit themselves, the reports said, possibly to avoid embarrassing the Russians, whose fulsome participation in the air show was highly prized.

The next day, as the show opened, Mr. Fedoseyev reportedly threatened to announce that the French had refused him asylum and to seek refuge elsewhere.

French officials related, and the scientist disappeared from his Paris hotel that day. A separate report said that he actually left Paris on June 1. The British Broadcasting Corp. said he entered England on Friday.

The day after the defection, large numbers of the Russian delegation were recalled to Moscow, and other Soviet officials refused to join the French defense minister, Michel Debré, at an official luncheon at Le Bourget.

Diplomats in London said tonight that they expected a Soviet protest over asylum for Mr. Fedoseyev. They recalled the strain put on British-Soviet relations by the defections here of Anatoly Kumretsov, the novelist, in 1969, and Natalia Makarova, the ballerina, last year.

The agreement, reached after 50 hours of negotiations presided over by Labor Minister Carlo Donat Cattin, is expected to end a wave of strikes and violence that have crippled Fiat production during the last ten weeks.

One indication of improved labor climate came almost immediately when metal-workers' unions called off a national strike scheduled for Tuesday.

A Fiat spokesman said that the agreement includes a basic 30-lire (4.8-cent) rise in the hourly rate for all workers. The company also pledged to improve conditions for workers and agreed to set up factory committees to oversee the improvement in conditions. The workers also are guaranteed contracts, promotion opportunities, improved night and overtime pay and longer breaks.

Ellsberg Says He Failed to Interest Kissinger in Report

Reputed Leak Source Tells of Frustrations

NEW YORK, June 20 (UPI)—The college professor said he leaked a top-secret Pentagon report to the press says he spent months trying to persuade White House aides and anti-war legislators to read it, Newsweek reported today.

A Newsweek interview listed presidential foreign affairs adviser Henry Kissinger and veteran Senate "dove" George McGovern, D. S. D., among those Daniel Ellsberg could not interest in the report.

Rep. Paul McCloskey, R. Calif., says he accepted "a number of Xerox sheets which bore no classification markings" from Mr. Ellsberg and put them in his congressional office safe, but he is not known to have read them.

He is Delighted. Newsweek senior editor Joel Blocker and Pentagon correspondent Lloyd Norman say Mr. Ellsberg will not admit leaking the report to The New York Times and The Washington Post, but he is delighted that they are publishing parts of it.

"What I failed earlier to do is now happening," they quoted him as saying. "I am flattered to be suspected of having leaked it."

Mr. Blocker and Mr. Norman interviewed Mr. Ellsberg in Cambridge, Mass., last week, just before he and his wife vanished. They are not known to have been seen since Wednesday.

The Newsweek interviewers said Mr. Ellsberg described the report as "a good starting point for a real understanding of the war, the U.S. equivalent of the Sturmhewer war crimes documents."

Unlimited License. "The documents show that Presidential assistants and other officials had virtually unlimited license to lie to the public," he said. "But now, those responsible for the escalation of the war will be held to account for the papers they signed."

Mr. Ellsberg told his interviewers he visited Mr. Kissinger last September because he believed "We are aware that the government [in its arguments] has not set forth particular elements on prejudice to the national defense," the majority said, "and that the document in question covered a period which ended over four years ago."

"But we also recognize," Judge Robinson added, "that the government may not have been able to make specific allegations without knowing precisely what parts of the document are held by the Post."

Judge Wright acknowledged that prior restraint might be permissible in "very exceptional" situations, but insisted they must be "very compellingly established by the party seeking an injunction."

He accused his colleagues of acting "quite liberally in the dark" and attacked the government for using "the sweep of a rubber stamp labeled 'top secret' to bridge freedom of the press."

"As if the long and sordid war in Southeast Asia had not already done enough harm to our people," Judge Wright said, "it now is used to cut out the heart of our free institutions and system of government. I decline to follow my colleagues down this road."

Second Post Article. WASHINGTON, June 20 (AP)—The Washington Post reported yesterday that several Pentagon papers showed that the Johnson administration's strategists had little expectation that the pauses in the bombing of North Vietnam in 1968 and 1969 would produce peace talks.

But the Johnson administration policy-makers did believe the halts Washington ordered from time to time in its air attacks on North Vietnam "would help placate domestic and world opinion," according to the account.

The Post's article, by Murray Kuchar, said: "The Pentagon study discloses that some strategists in the Johnson administration planned to use unproductive bombing pauses as a justification for escalating the war."

Unleashed Privately. "This idea was first outlined privately by U.S. officials soon after the bombings of the North began in 1965."

"These planners regarded the lulls in bombing as a 'ratchet' to reduce tension and then intensify it, to produce 'one more turn of the screw' in order to 'crack the enemy's resistance to negotiations,' the report states."

"Throughout these years American officials regarded their discussions for peace as virtually irreconcilable with the conditions offered by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, recognized that the terms for peace talks would have to be eased before negotiations could even begin."

U.S.-North Vietnamese talks finally got under way in Paris after President Lyndon B. Johnson halted the bombing of the northern part of North Vietnam on March 31, 1968. Earlier Paris discussions, including the Viet Cong and South Vietnam began after Mr. Johnson completely stopped the air attacks on the North on Oct. 31, 1968.

The Post article said that in the 1965-68 period, before the Paris session began, the Pentagon study reported: "The most uncompromising U.S. planners insisted that the enemy would interpret the pauses in the bombing as a sign of American softness."

"Consequently, the failure of the Communist side to make a conciliatory response to each

ed at the time that the Hanoi administration was continuing the Johnson strategy "which would lead inexorably to the destruction of North Vietnam" by January, 1973."

"I asked him if he had a copy of the report.... in the White House," Mr. Ellsberg recalled. "Yes," he said. "Did you read it?"

John DeWitt. Mr. McGovern aide John D. Holum

laid Newsweek that Mr. Ellsberg offered the report to the S. Dakota senator in January, but he would make it public "even if it meant he had to jail."

Mr. Holum said he took Sen. McGovern not to take papers and the senator accepted his advice.

One of the documents quoted from the Pentagon study was a State Department cable sent before the partial halt in March, 1968.

"You should make clear that Hanoi is most likely to denounce (the partial bomb halt and the accompanying offer to Hanoi) not take advantage of it) project and thus free our hand after

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laid Newsweek that Mr. Ellsberg offered the report to the S. Dakota senator in January, but he would make it public "even if it meant he had to jail."

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Speed of Light

William Lawson's Light Scotch Whisky was first enjoyed over 120 years ago by people who should know more about Scotch than anyone.

The Scots themselves. So it shouldn't surprise you to find that its light and mellow taste goes down splendidly with your friends.

Remember they've never had anything like William Lawson's Light Scotch before. Maybe they're just making up for lost time.

WILLIAM LAWSON'S PURE SCOTCH WHISKY

WILLIAM LAWSON (WHISKY) LTD. COATBRIDGE - DUNDEE - SCOTLAND

100% SCOTCH WHISKIES

DISILLED IN SCOTLAND AND BOTTLED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM UNDER GOVERNMENT SUPERVISION

Fiat and Workers Draft Pay Deal; Labor Is Calming

ROME, June 20 (Reuters)—The Fiat Motor Co. reached a provisional pay agreement yesterday with its 184,000 workers that is considered a big step forward in efforts to improve the atmosphere of conflict in much of Italian industry.

The agreement, reached after 50 hours of negotiations presided over by Labor Minister Carlo Donat Cattin, is expected to end a wave of strikes and violence that have crippled Fiat production during the last ten weeks.

One indication of improved labor climate came almost immediately when metal-workers' unions called off a national strike scheduled for Tuesday.

A Fiat spokesman said that the agreement includes a basic 30-lire (4.8-cent) rise in the hourly rate for all workers. The company also pledged to improve conditions for workers and agreed to set up factory committees to oversee the improvement in conditions. The workers also are guaranteed contracts, promotion opportunities, improved night and overtime pay and longer breaks.

Soviet SST Home Safe Despite Two Half-Inch Cracks

MOSCOW, June 20 (UPI)—The Soviet Union's Tu-144 supersonic airliner landed safely in Moscow today. Neither crew nor designer showed outward concern over structural cracks that Western mechanics reported in Warsaw.

Pilot Eduard Velyan and the other crewmen descended the ramp amid kisses, flowers and handshakes from wives and co-workers on the ground, designer Alexei Tupolev among them. They had flown the plane back from Paris, where it was exhibited at the air show.

The craft stopped for two days in Warsaw, where some Polish aviation experts viewed it. The general public was not allowed to approach, as they had in Paris and earlier in Prague.

Western aircraft mechanics in Warsaw said two half-inch-wide cracks were visible on the mountings of the two port engines, one six feet long and the other about six inches. They said the plane made an emergency landing in Warsaw because of the cracks.

Faisal, Sadat Discuss Middle East Crisis

CAIRO, Egypt, June 20 (AP)—King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and Egypt's President Anwar Sadat today began official talks on the Middle East crisis.

A terse official statement said the two sides exchanged views on world and regional problems, with special emphasis on the Middle East.

Informants however said Faisal briefed Sadat on the outcome of his talks with President Nixon during his recent visit to the United States. Sadat, on his part, informed the Saudi monarch on his talks with U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers who visited the area last month.

WEATHER		
City	Temp	Forecast
ALGAYRE	57 F	Sunny
AMSTERDAM	54 F	Rain
ANKARA	57 F	Cloudy
ATHENS	59 F	Cloudy
BELGRADE	59 F	Sunny
BELLEVILLE	59 F	Very cloudy
BELMONT	59 F	Very cloudy
BIRMINGHAM	59 F	Very cloudy
BUDAPEST	57 F	Very cloudy
CAIRO	80 F	Sunny
CANBERRA	57 F	Partly cloudy
COFFRIGNANO	57 F	Very cloudy
COSTA DEL SOL	59 F	Sunny
DUBLIN	55 F	Cloudy
EDINBURGH	55 F	Rain
FLORENCE	57 F	Sunny
GENOVA	57 F	Rain
HONGKONG	81 F	Partly cloudy
ISTANBUL	59 F	Very cloudy
JAKARTA	80 F	Very cloudy
LONDON	57 F	Sunny
LONDON	57 F	Sunny
LYON	57 F	Partly cloudy
MADRID	57 F	Partly cloudy
MILAN	57 F	Sunny
MOSCOW	57 F	Sunny
MUNICH	57 F	Sunny
NEW YORK	57 F	Sunny
OSLO	57 F	Sunny
PARIS	57 F	Cloudy
PRAGUE	57 F	Very cloudy
ROME	57 F	Very cloudy
SOFIA	57 F	Very cloudy
STOCKHOLM	57 F	Very cloudy
TEL AVIV	57 F	Sunny
TOKYO	57 F	Sunny
VIENNA	57 F	Very cloudy
WARSAW	57 F	Cloudy
WASHINGTON	57 F	Sunny
WELLS	57 F	Sunny

(U.S. Standard time zone as of 1970. Local times as of 1970.)

مكازم التحليل

هكذا اننا نعمل

Income Levies to Go Down

Canada Gets Tax Relief Bill Removing Million From Rolls

By Edward Cowan

Ottawa, June 20 (NYT)—The government has submitted to Parliament sweeping tax reform legislation that would remove one million persons from the tax rolls, cut taxes for 4.7 million and impose capital gains taxes in Canada for the first time.

tax rate would be cut over four years, from 50 percent to 46 percent. The American rate is 48 percent. Federal inheritance taxes would be ended. Mr. Benson said that to encourage the use of antipollution equipment, he was excluding it from Canada's general 12 percent manufacturers' sales tax. Reductions in excises and tariffs were designed to benefit the following industries: consumer electronics, margarine, petrochemicals, logging, pulp and paper and electric utilities.

Nixon Plans To Extend GI-Drug War

By Carroll Kilpatrick

KEY BISCAYNE, Fla., June 20 (WP)—President Nixon's new anti-narcotics program among servicemen overseas, which is scheduled to begin tomorrow in Vietnam, will be extended to about a month to those in West Germany and eventually to all returning servicemen. Administration officials confirmed today that the program announced at the White House Thursday would be extended as rapidly as possible elsewhere to fulfill the President's promise of a major all-out attack on the growing drug problem among servicemen.

The plan is to give a urinalysis test to every serviceman returning from Vietnam to determine if he has been using narcotics. The test is positive, the GI will undergo a week's detoxification treatment in Vietnam and then up to three weeks of treatment in the United States before being discharged or returned to duty.

In the program announced Thursday, the president requested legislation to permit the military to retain up to 30 days "any individual due for discharge who is a narcotics addict."

White House spokesmen promised that servicemen who are found to be on drugs or who voluntarily apply for treatment will not be penalized.

Mr. Nixon requested an additional \$155 million for the fight on narcotics in the fiscal year beginning July 1, for a total of \$770 million.

No Dollar Parity Nor did Mr. Benson announce a new fixed parity for the Canadian dollar, which has been floating freely in the foreign exchange market since June 1, 1970. The minister forecast stronger economic growth in the second half of 1971 and declining unemployment. Mr. Benson's advisers have told him that the unemployment rate—6.3 percent in May—may drop to 5 percent, a so-called "full employment" level, by the end of 1971.

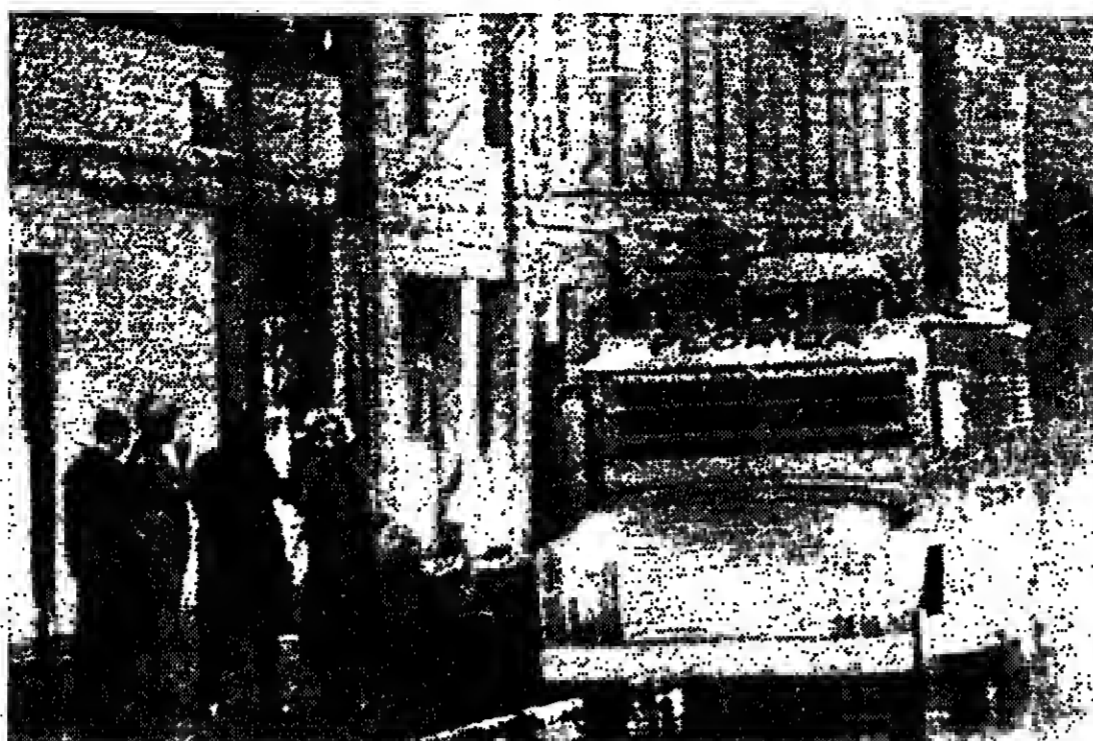
Mr. Benson's reluctance to stimulate the economy more forcefully was evidently linked to a fear of inflation. "There is still too much slack in the economy," he told the House of Commons. "At the same time, costs are still rising at a rate that causes concern about future price developments."

Higher Than U.S. Taxes have been higher in Canada than in the United States for years. No new comparison was published today, but officials acknowledged that the Canadian tax burden would continue to be heavier.

All taxpayers would benefit from increased exemptions, to \$1,500 from \$1,000 for unmarried persons and to \$2,850 from \$2,000 for married couples. The exemption for each dependent child remains \$300.

Other forms of tax relief included special treatment for the elderly, blind and bedridden, and deductions for child-care and the cost of moving to a new job.

As an incentive to the expansion of Canadian-controlled small businesses in which the public does not have stock, the government proposed to tax the first \$50,000 of income at 25 percent instead of 46 percent.



"THE MONSTER"—Armored vehicle of the Florida Highway Patrol, used during riots, sits idly on a street in Jacksonville yesterday as policemen confer nearby.

Jacksonville Has 3d Night Of Disorders

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., June 20 (AP)—Snipers fired on three white policemen and scattered firebombings were reported last night as bands of young Negroes roamed this city's black section for the third consecutive night, sheriff's deputies said.

No injuries were reported. Duval County Sheriff's Sgt. J. M. Beck said three or four firebombings of small stores had been reported. It was not known if major fires at a meat packing company, a furniture store and a downtown club were related to the racial disturbances, he said.

A police officer, alone on patrol in the east part of Jacksonville, was the target of sniper fire and two bullets hit a squad car, Sgt. Beck said.

National Guard Alert Some 500 National Guard troops were on standby alert in three Jacksonville armories. Gov. Reubin Askew ordered the alert on Friday night.

A Duval County grand jury Friday indicted on manslaughter charges officer Frank Fournier, the white policeman who allegedly shot and killed a 15-year-old Negro boy last Thursday. The incident is credited with touching off the rioting.

Demands by militant blacks for the transfer of Sheriff D. K. Brown by sundown yesterday were refused and most of the militancy walked out of a conference yesterday with Mayor Hans Tanzler and Sheriff Dale Carson.

NAACP official James Washington said yesterday that "the tension would decrease by 80 percent if Brown is fired." He said Mr. Brown is "insensitive to the problems of the blacks and has not stopped police brutality against our people."

Sky Marshal Foils Hijack In N. Carolina

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., June 20 (UPI)—A federal sky marshal disguised as a pilot subdued a Tennessee man aboard a Piedmont Airlines jet Friday, thwarting an attempt to hijack the plane to Cuba.

Raymond A. Ciulli of Atlanta, the sky marshal, seized Bobby Richard White, 26, of Kingsport, Tenn., and clubbed him to the floor of the Boeing-737 jet with a pistol. Mr. White, it was later discovered, was unarmed.

He had boarded the plane after it landed on a flight from New York. The passengers had disembarked and only the pilot, Capt. Leon M. Fox, of Wilmington, was aboard.

Mr. White, carrying a zippered flight bag, said he wanted to go to Cuba. Capt. Fox told him that he would have to assemble a crew and take on fuel.

Mr. Ciulli then boarded the plane wearing a pilot's uniform and captured Mr. White.

Joe Adonis Exiled By Italian Court

MILAN, June 20 (AP)—Joe Adonis, former Mafia leader in the United States, is to be exiled for four years to a tiny Adriatic hilltown because of his suspected gangland connections.

A court considered sending him to exile with 18 Mafia suspects on the barren Isle of Liposa or with 15 others on the Isle of Filicudi.

But it decided instead to banish Adonis, 59, to Serra de Conti, a town of 3,000 inhabitants, near Ancona on the Adriatic.

Malta's Police Chief Quits After Election

VALLETTA, Malta, June 20 (AP)—Malta's police chief, Commissioner Vivion de Gray, resigned last week in the wake of the election of Dom Mintoff's Labor government, P'zhly informed sources said.

N.Y. City Women Prisoners Get New Jail, With Dainty Touches

NEW YORK, June 20 (Reuters)—Mayor John Lindsay Friday opened the city's new women's prison—a jail with a beauty salon, landscaped gardens and outdoor sports grounds... and without bars.

The \$24-million institution, on 55 acres of Rikers Island, replaces the infamous Women's House of Detention in Greenwich Village, Lower Manhattan.

In the new prison, each inmate has a private room with a studio bed covered by a scarlet spread, and a desk and toilet facilities.

Some rooms overlook Flushing Bay while others have a view of a decorative fountain.

Friday, the 440 inmates—almost all under 30, Negro and dressed in red, blue or green smocks—were escorted in small groups throughout the prison, which is painted cream or robin's egg blue and trimmed with turquoise.

One inmate, a convicted murderess, commented: "It's a jail, man and jail's a jail."

Another, a blonde detained on grand larceny charges, said: "Where I come from, this is a palace."

Last of the Nonuplets Is Dead, Mother Hopes for Pregnancy

SYDNEY, June 20 (AP)—The only survivor of the world's first nonuplets died last night. A hospital announcement today said the baby—a boy who, at 12 ounces, was the smallest of the nine babies—had died at 11 p.m. (1300 GMT) yesterday.

The baby, named Richard on Friday, lived for six hours short of seven days—fighting for breath and clinging to life in an incubator while, one by one, his five-born brothers and sisters died. Two of the five boys had been stillborn.

He was the smallest of the history-making nonuplets born to 29-year-old Mrs. Leonard Brodriek in 32 minutes just before dawn on June 13.

Word of the final death was not unexpected. Chances of any of the babies surviving were slim. They were twelve weeks premature and measured between six and eight inches.

The boy's condition has been critical since birth but he managed to live through a blood exchange which was required on Thursday because his liver was unable to cope with body impurities.

8th Person Dies In Detroit 'War'

DETROIT, June 20 (UPI)—Robert Gardner, the tenant of the flat where seven persons were "executed" last Monday in the latest episode of a reputed drug war, died today of injuries he suffered in the mass slaying.

The death of Mr. Gardner, 28, apparently made the mass slaying the worst in Detroit history, the Detroit police department said.

A spokesman at Ford Hospital, where Mr. Gardner had been under intensive care ever since the shooting, said he died of gunshot wounds to the head, chest and stomach. He never recovered consciousness sufficiently to talk to police, the spokesman said.

'71 Drug Addict Toll In N.Y.C. Reaches 514

NEW YORK, June 20 (NYT)—The Medical Examiner's office reported Friday that 514 addicts, 89 of them teen-agers, died in the city between Jan. 1 and Jan. 17.

The majority of the deaths were in Manhattan, where 312 addicts died. Of the total of 514 deaths, 270 were directly attributable to narcotics and the remainder were accounted for by hemlock, suicides and other causes.

Case of the Prime Minister And the Waiter and a Letter

LONDON, June 20 (Reuters)—An official at 10 Downing Street today denied reports that a waiter had committed a breach of security in handing a petition to Prime Minister Edward Heath after a dinner party.

Earlier, the waiter, Ronald Irons, who said he was a former shipbroker, had asserted that he had spent five minutes alone with Mr. Heath after serving him at the dinner party.

"I handed Mr. Heath a letter. He took the letter, and said he would see what could be done," Mr. Irons said.

Mr. Irons, who explained he used to run a shipbroking business in Hong Kong, told newsmen that the presentation of the petition—concerning money allegedly owed to him by a South Korean shipping firm—was the result of a nine-month plan to deliver the message personally to Mr. Heath.

He said he obtained a job as a waiter and served at several functions at 10 Downing Street, before he handed the letter over last week.

Tonight a spokesman denied that there had been any breach of security but confirmed that Mr. Irons had handed Mr. Heath a letter.

"Mr. Irons would have found a three-penny stamp as effective and more appropriate," he remarked. He added that Mr. Irons had written on table at number 10 on several occasions and was known to the staff.

"There was no hoax and no impersonation. The only breach has been one of professional etiquette," said the spokesman.

Hike on Moors For Charity Is Near-Disaster

RAVENSCAR, England, June 20 (AP)—Police and troops found hundreds of charity walkers exhausted and lost on the rainswept north Yorkshire moors yesterday during a 42-mile overnight trek to raise money for the United Nations Children's Fund—UNICEF.

At one stage more than 600 hikers were reported missing on the bleak and trackless moorlands. Police and army searchers were called out and found many persons, suffering from exposure, huddled in groups under torrential rain and hail.

By late afternoon all known participants in the walk had been tracked down and taken to local village halls for treatment. None was reported in serious condition. The police and army search ended.

The walkers had set off Friday night to trek from Osmotherley to Ravenscar, each of them sponsored at various prices for every mile covered. All the proceeds were to go to UNICEF.

2 Women Trustees First Named by Yale

NEW HAVEN, Conn., June 20 (AP)—Yale University announced yesterday that two women have become members of the Yale Corp., the university's board of trustees. They are the first since Yale was founded in 1701.

One of the women is also the corporation's second black member. She is Marian Wright Edelman of Washington, D.C., who was the chair of Yale alumni. Hanna Holbert Gray, of Chicago, was selected by the corporation to fill one of three vacancies that occurred in the past year.

To Reduce Mishap Risk

U.S. Orders Safety Changes In 7 Nuclear Power Plants

By Thomas O'Toole

WASHINGTON, June 20 (WP)—Seven nuclear power plants in seven states were ordered by the Atomic Energy Commission yesterday to make safety changes to reduce the risk of accidents that could shut down the plants because of a loss of cooling water. Five of the plants were ordered to modernize their cooling systems and one of these plus two others were told to lower their peak operating temperatures. The AEC conceded that the five plants told to modernize will have to shut down to do so, but said that the others ordered to reduce operating temperatures will undergo no serious service disruptions.

"Insofar as the AEC can now determine," the AEC said, "the application of these criteria (i.e., the lowering of peak temperatures) is expected to permit normal electric power output at all, or almost all, these reactors."

The AEC orders to the seven plants follow weeks of study and analysis of failures of an emergency cooling system being tested at the National Reactor Testing Station near Arco, Idaho.

Redesign Orders Far more serious was the order that five plants, including Con Edison's Indian Point Plant, must redesign their cooling systems, an order that will cost the plants \$500,000 each in hardware and even more in the time it takes for the machinery to be installed.

The four other plants told to redesign their cooling systems are Commonwealth Edison Co.'s Dresden 1 Plant at Morris, Ill.; Yankee Atomic Electric Co.'s plant at Rowe, Mass.; Consumers Power Co.'s Big Rock Point Plant at Charlevoix, Mich., and Southern California Edison's San Onofre Plant at San Clemente, Calif.

These plants will need new pumps and valves, as well as a tighter inspection system and new leak detecting devices to be placed in their coolant pipes. All these plants might be closed for as long as three months at a time to install the new safety equipment.

In testing a scaled-down model of a reactor cooling system, the AEC found that in the event of a pipe rupture and a loss of primary coolant, the high steam pressures inside nuclear reactor vessels prevented much of the emergency coolant from reaching the hot atomic core to keep it from overheating.

These tests, the AEC said, "indicated that the predicted margins of emergency core cooling system performance in reactors may not be as large as were earlier predicted."

Yesterday's orders to the seven plants were described as the result of an "interim core cooling policy," one that will itself be studied in weeks ahead to see if further changes in plant safety are needed.

The three plants ordered to lower their peak operating temperatures are Carolina Power & Light Co.'s 700,000 kilowatt plant at Hartsville, S.C.; Florida Power & Light's 651,000 kilowatt plant at Turkey Point, Fla., and Consolidated Edison Co.'s 875,000 kilowatt Indian Point 1 plant at Indian Point, N.Y.

All three plants were told to reduce peak temperatures to 2,900 degrees F, a heat the AEC calculates will not make brittle the materials used to enclose the uranium fuel elements. Embrittle-

ment would lead to breaks in the cladding, which would then scatter the radioactive fuel around the reactor vessel in the event of a coolant loss.

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Schooner Sinks In Caribbean; 22 Missing, 5 Saved

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad, June 20 (AP)—An all-day search by the Trinidad Coast Guard failed to find additional survivors of the auxiliary schooner City of St. George, which caught fire and sank late Friday night 15 miles north of Trinidad in the Caribbean.

Fishermen found one lifeboat with five survivors at dawn yesterday and took them to Coast Guard headquarters in Trinidad. Their condition was reported satisfactory.

Unaccounted for were another 21 persons, including the ship's captain and a number of women passengers. The 125-ton schooner was carrying 15 passengers and 12 crewmen.

16 Drown in Taxi Plunge

CAIRO, June 20 (Reuters)—Sixteen of 17 persons drowned when their taxi plunged into a canal off the road from Samalut to Cuba in upper Egypt, the newspaper Al-Ahram reported today. The victims, including five women and seven children, were on their way to a neighboring village to attend a religious festival.

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Large advertisement for Marlboro cigarettes. Text: Come to the flavor of Marlboro. Men of independent character like the rugged, American cowboy make their brand Marlboro. Marlboro, for generous full-flavored aroma. You get a lot to like with Marlboro... filter, flavor, pack or box. Includes images of Marlboro cigarette packs and a cowboy.

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Soviet Labor Shortage Results

Russian Youths Scorning Blue-Collar Jobs

By Bernard Gwertzman

MOSCOW, June 20 (NYT).—A Leningrad industrialist complained yesterday that, although the working class was described as the leading force in Soviet society, most young people felt that their lives were ruined if they had to become workers.

collar work. Two years ago, he wrote in Literaturnaya Gazeta that society was turning out too many engineers and not enough ordinary workers.

Party Support

The fact that Pravda decided to give his views this amount of attention would indicate that at least some persons in the party hierarchy were disposed to agree with his concern about "elitism."

Soviet sociologists have been aware for many years of this development, but few have offered any concrete solutions.

With the party stressing the

need for technological progress, educators have turned their attention to providing opportunities for gifted children to learn special skills in the sciences and languages.

Mr. Kuzin believes that such special schools produce a feeling that such students are better than others.

He noted a recent poll published in Novosti that out of a preference scale of 80 occupations, high school seniors gave highest choice to mathematicians, physicists, biologists, surgeons, geologists, writers, authors and astronauts. The two occupations dear to his industry, lathe operators and milling-machine operators, were ranked 39th and 40th. The last two places were filled by accountants and bookkeepers.

In a similar poll in Kostroma, he said, lathe operators and milling-machine operators placed 75th and 76th. "We have people who work reluctantly, try to find work that is easy and take from society more than they give," he said. "Unfortunately, some forms of work necessary to society are not regarded as honorable by youth."

Educational Bias

He attributed this lack of interest to "shortcomings in education, the preparation of the new generation for a working life."

Mr. Kuzin attacked schools that have special programs in mathematics, physics, biology or foreign languages. He said that these schools were supposed to be for gifted children, but many parents sought to send their children there because it was the thing to do.

He proposed doing away with these schools and having all children go to the same kind of institutions.

"If the general program in a school for the masses holds back the development of a gifted child, this causes society much less harm than the inculcation of the belief that a child is something special," he said.

He called upon schools to make "the most active" efforts to prepare youth for industry. "In our country, the working class was, and will be the leading class, the main productive and political force in society. The development and permanent reproduction of this decisive social force is a most important state concern," he said.

Pompidou Sees Big Air, Sea, Land Military Review

TOULON, France, June 20 (UPI).—President Georges Pompidou today presided over France's biggest military review in 25 years—a display of army, navy and air forces to mark the end of major allied maneuvers in the Mediterranean.

Mr. Pompidou and Prime Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas flew to France's chief military port to board the aircraft carrier Clemenceau and inspect displays of French land, sea and air prowess.

Military officials said that never since 1946, shortly after World War II, had France put on such a big combined display. The review marked the end of three major air-sea exercises to test command structures between the Western allies and aircraft-warship coordination.

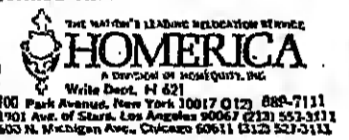
Warplanes of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean took part in the exercises—code-named Tiger, Medex and Subex—along with planes from West Germany, Holland and Spain.

French officials said the exercises aimed to test the defenses of southeast France in case of a Mediterranean crisis.



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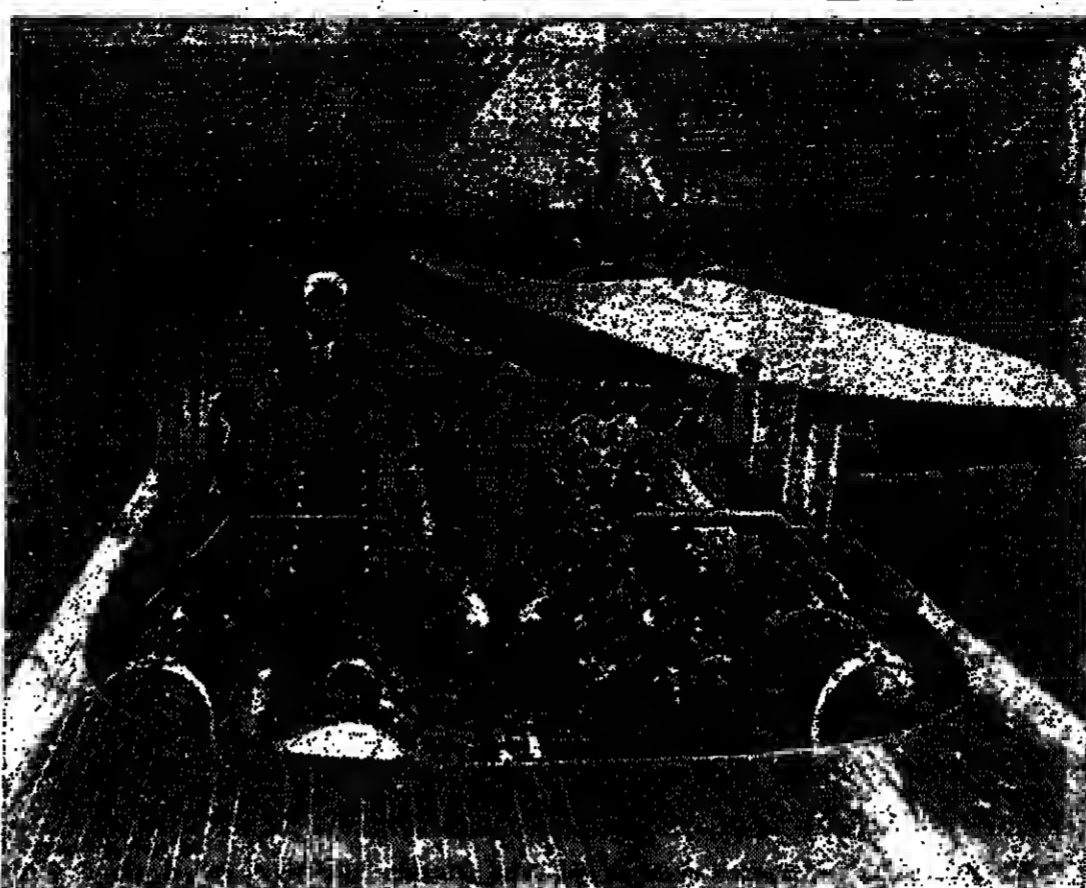


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Gar Wood in the cockpit of his record-breaking America VIII at a Chicago motor boat show around 1930. The craft hit a speed of 96.25 miles an hour.

Gar Wood, 90, Speedboat Racer, Industrialist

MIAMI, June 20 (AP).—Garfield A. (Gar) Wood, 90, a millionaire industrialist, inventor and powerboat racing enthusiast, died yesterday after being hospitalized with a stomach ailment.

Investing 50 cents in a small polished cylinder, Mr. Wood began an intensive career struggling with the first hydraulic lift for dump trucks. Years later, Mr. Wood reckoned that his return on the hydraulic lift invention was a \$50-million personal fortune.

His fortune enabled him to pursue his hobby as a speedboat fan. He won the Harmsworth Trophy eight straight times and set five world speed records.

His Miss America models streaked from 92.83 miles an hour in 1928 to a then-fantastic 124.91 mph in 1932. He also raced his America VIII models in this period.

In the early 1930s he designed a high-speed launch for the Navy and chatted with President Roosevelt about its possible combat use. Roosevelt liked the vessel but Navy brass scoffed at what later became the hit-and-run PT boat of World War II.

He also financed the Christ-Craft boat manufacturing company, and expanded his industrial holdings into a vast network of nationwide factories and assembly plants.

Thomas Gomez, SANTA MONICA, Calif., June 20 (NYT).—Thomas Gomez, 65, a veteran character actor, died at St. John's Hospital Friday after three weeks in a coma.

Mr. Gomez was identified primarily as a heavy, playing villainous roles on stage, screen and television. He customarily growled at other members of the cast.

His motion pictures included "Singapore," "Captain from Castile," "Key Largo," "The Bank Lady," "Kim," "The Merry Widow," "The Magnificent Misador" and "The Conqueror," among others.

In 1956 he replaced Bud Ives as Big Daddy in the play "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" by Tennessee Williams. He was also seen here in Friedrich Dürrenmatt's drama "The Visit."

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A house guest said Mr. Winn

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Obituaries

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Foreign Journalists Allowed In East Pakistan Unescorted

By Malcolm W. Browne

KARACHI, June 20 (NYT).—The Pakistani government announced last night that foreign newsmen, who have been barred from East Pakistan since March 25 except as participants in special guided tours, are to be readmitted without restrictions.

The announcement said, "Foreign correspondents can visit East Pakistan on their own, completely unescorted and unattended, in view of the fact that the law-and-order situation is now fully under control in that wing."

On March 26 about 400 foreign newsmen covering the strife arising from Bengali separatist aspirations were expelled from East Pakistan by martial-law authorities. Their notes, film, manuscripts and personal papers were confiscated by authorities.

Five-Day Visits. Since then two groups of newsmen, one of six correspondents and another of ten, have been permitted five-day visits to East Pakistan accompanied by military authorities on planned tours.

Two weeks ago the government announced that all foreigners were to be permitted to travel to and in East Pakistan at will, but that journalists remained barred. Travelers have been required to sign affidavits stating they are not journalists.

The Pakistani government contends foreign news reporting on events in East Pakistan has been biased and distorted, with heavy prejudice in favor of Bengali separatists and neighboring India.

Border Fighting. RAWALPINDI, Pakistan, June 20 (UPI).—India has warned Pakistan that disposal of land and property of the East Pakistan war refugees now in India will create further humanitarian problems, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

In a note to the Pakistan High Commission Friday, the Foreign Ministry said distribution of land and properties of the refugees "to others will definitely deter them from returning to their homes."

The Pakistani action "is causing utmost concern to India" and is "bound to have repercussions on India's border states," the note said.

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His Side of Story Is Omitted

Polish Party's Study of Riot Details Gomulka 'Dereliction'

By James Feron

WARSAW, June 20 (NYT).—An official Communist party report on last December's food-price riots provides a dramatic account of the confusion within the party leadership on the day the fighting began in Gdansk (Danzig).

The 384-page document, which has been printed here in a limited edition, falls to provide any defense by the former party chief, Wladyslaw Gomulka, who is accused of prime responsibility for the rioting.

The omission appears to contradict promises that there would be full disclosure of the hierarchy's February reviews of the riots. The promises had been made by party leaders under Edward Giersek, Mr. Gomulka's successor.

The limited edition of Nowy Drogi, the Central Committee organ, while omitting Mr. Gomulka's version of events, does include explanations and arguments by other party leaders.

They are Boleslaw Jaskieski, who was Mr. Gomulka's economics chief; Zenon Kliszko, the former party ideologist, and Ryszard Strzelcicki, who was in charge of party organizational matters.

Mr. Jaskieski was said to have been responsible for the economic policy that produced the demonstrations and Mr. Kliszko reportedly ordered the massive police and army intervention that produced the riots. Mr. Strzelcicki was faulted for having failed to maintain contact between the party and the masses.

Document Delayed. The document was originally scheduled to appear in early March. Its delay may have been the result of internal discussions over how much to reveal.

The report gives the first official estimate of the damage, 405 million zlotys, or about \$17 million, at the official exchange rate. The damage in the Szczecin (Stettin) area accounted for two-thirds of the total.

In addition to the 45 persons killed, 184 were injured in the week of fighting, 15 public buildings were destroyed in the Gdansk and Szczecin areas, including Communist party headquarters in both places.

The official report says that 47 civilian vehicles and several dozen police and army vehicles were destroyed or damaged. In addition, 230 stores were burned or destroyed.

It reports that 2,989 people were arrested, with 184 released within a month. The majority of those detained were charged with robbery. A dozen were held for assault, others for arson and/or illegal possession of weapons.

Detailed Study. The account provides a detailed analysis of what was stated briefly by Mr. Giersek and other party leaders at the time, that a demonstration by port workers with legitimate grievances was misdirected by party leaders in Warsaw.

Mr. Gomulka refused to call the party Politburo into session to consider the increasing violence, according to the report, and even failed to inform the Central Committee, which was meeting in Poland's new five-year plan the day the fighting broke out.

The report said "army units were called in to help the police from the very first day. The hurried use of the army on a large scale and the order to use it almost from the very beginning produced disastrous results."

According to the report, party leadership's confusion is described in the Central Committee's February plenum by Kliszko. On his own initiative he said, he flew to Gdansk a helicopter over the city, a provincial party headquarters burning and workers streaming through the streets. The fighting was to spread the next day to nearby Gdynia and then to Szczecin.

Political Ouster. The report says that Mr. Gomulka was hospitalized on Dec. 10 for "circulatory ailments, acute temporary disturbance of sight and that the Politburo finally met that day under Prem Jozef Cyrankiewicz, who was named president, a largely ceremonial post.

It was not Mr. Gomulka's ouster, the report said, "but political considerations of the high order that prompted the decision of the seventh plenum," a reference to the Central Committee meeting the next day that elected Mr. Giersek party chief.

The Nowy Drogi report reveals the accusation that Mr. Gomul had lost touch with the mass which was still meeting regularly in the 50s, began to convene and more rarely in recent years while the Central Committee secretariat almost never met. Mr. Gomulka, it says, headed small leadership group that "did not tolerate any criticism, rejected any initiative other than its own" and "exercised only over the Politburo and the Central Committee."

Traveling in two groups, 21 Americans were scheduled to visit the Tyumen and Surgut areas and meet with Soviet oil officials and experts there. The Russian hope to exploit the area to boost current oil production of 553 million tons yearly to 500 million tons by 1975.

In 1969, Americans were allowed to visit natural gas fields in the same western Siberian area. The trips were regarded by the Russians as keeping with 40 oilfields and scientific exchanges and Russians had toured American fields in return.

Ex-Aide in Vadim Film Found Dead in Paris. PARIS, June 20 (UPI).—Police today identified a body found in the men's room of a nightclub last night as that of Italian filmmaker Ottaviano Delucchi, 25, one-time assistant to French director Roger Vadim.

A syringe and other drug-taking equipment were near the body in the men's room of the Alouca cabaret on the Left Bank, 2 police said.

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مكازم التحليل

As Editor of 2 Periodicals

Sartre Indicted on Charges Of Criminal Libel of Police

By John L. Hess

PARIS, June 20 (NYT)—Jean-Paul Sartre was indicted yesterday on four counts of criminal libel of the police.

Two examining magistrates in separate cases accused the philosopher-playwright as criminal publisher of two extremist periodicals that had alleged police brutality and prison abuses. The offenses could bring sentences totaling up to four years in prison and \$330,000 in fines. Mr. Sartre was released without bail pending a hearing in September.

Mr. Sartre, who will be 66 tomorrow, had been invited to arrest for more than a year by leading his name as publisher of extremist papers whose youthful editors and vendors had been subject to frequent arrests and seizures.

He and his companion, Simone de Beauvoir, had even peddled the banned issues of the *Maoist Cause du Peuple* on the Boulevard St. Germain, but were ignored by the police, apparently under orders.

Change of Mind
The government's change of mind coincided with a hearing up of the dispute over "law and order" and police behavior. It followed a demonstration by Paris newspapermen over the alleged hearing of one of them by the police, and an apparent retaliation by the police, who vanished from the Latin Quarter during an outbreak of looting two weeks ago.

The current issue of the ultra-rightist weekly *Minute* bore a headline in huge black type: "Jail Sartre!" It declared: "Enough indulgence for the one who incites disorder, pillage and hatred."

For his part, Mr. Sartre had announced in the *Cause du Peuple* the intention to convene next Sunday a "popular tribunal to try the French police."

Proceedings Closed
The short, slight philosopher, in his habitual lumberjacket and heavy glasses, entered the Palais de Justice yesterday to answer two summonses. One concerned two articles on alleged police brutality that appeared in the *Cause du Peuple* a year ago. The other concerned two articles on drugs, the police and prisons appearing last February in *Tout*, a revolutionary sheet in the style of the American underground press.

The proceedings were closed, and consisted simply in notifica-

tion of the indictments. Leaving, Mr. Sartre told reporters it was a new step toward repression of freedom of press and of association.

A Sartre trial would be a sensation that previous governments have strenuously avoided. Gen. de Gaulle was reported to have told an official who wanted to prosecute Mr. Sartre during the Algerian war: "You don't try Voltaire."



Jean-Paul Sartre

1.3 Million Signatures

Petition for Nationwide Vote On Divorce Law Filed in Italy

ROME, June 20 (Reuters)—Campaigners against Italy's new divorce law have taken a decisive step forward with the presentation of a petition with more than 1.3 million signatures calling for a referendum on the measure.

They are pushing ahead despite fears that a referendum would throw Italian politics into turmoil throughout 1972 by splitting the nation into clerical and anti-clerical camps.

The 1,370,134 signatures, collected in less than three months and presented to the Supreme Court of Appeal yesterday, has been widely hailed as a triumph for conservative Roman Catholics and an indication of the strength of anti-divorce feeling. Only 500,000 legally certified signatures, accompanied by electoral certificates, were required to obtain a referendum.

Vote Believed Certain

It now appears almost certain that a referendum will be held next summer and that the electorate will successfully abolish the law.

The court has three months to verify all the signatures. Then the Constitutional Court will decide on the validity of the request. After that, the cabinet will advise the president on a date for the vote between April 15 and June 15, 1972.

It would be Italy's first referendum since the nation rejected the monarchy in June, 1946, followed by the departure of King Umberto II into exile in Portugal.

Dr. Mario Fucini, the Roma campaign organizer, hailed the number of signatures as "an extremely significant sounding of opinion" in the face of hostility from leftist and anti-clerical forces.

"The result has exceeded our hopes. . . . The signatures do not carry the names of the Catholic Church or of the Christian Democratic party, but of the Italian people."

Communist Attack

But the Communist party newspaper *L'Unita* declared the campaign "the broadest reactionary and anti-popular attempt presently under way in Italy," and pro-divorce groups began massing their forces for what threatens to become a bitter political battle.

Tonight, supporters of the Italian Divorce League and the newly formed League for the Abolition of the Concordat staged a protest meeting and an all-night vigil in Florence.

The vigil opened a campaign for a counter-referendum to abolish Italy's 1929 concordat with the Vatican, which is due for revision soon and which they claim the Vatican has broken by allegedly intervening in the referendum campaign.

A Divorce League spokesman said that compromise was no longer possible with the Roman Catholic groups.



SMALL FRY—A Chinese water goat, only one week old, seen yesterday in a zoo in Helsinki, Finland. The goat, called Lin Yang, weighs less than 2 pounds and is standing next to an ordinary box of matches.

E. Germans Vote Support Of Honecker

Ulbricht Successor Wins Re-Election

BERLIN, June 20 (NYT)—The ruling East German Communist party yesterday re-elected Erik Honecker as first secretary. The 58-year-old party tactician had replaced Walter Ulbricht as party leader six weeks ago.

Mr. Honecker's reaffirmation came at the end of the eighth party congress. Mr. Ulbricht, who did not attend the five-day convention reportedly due to an acute circulatory ailment, was re-elected to the Politburo but lost his post in the party Secretariat.

Instead, Mr. Ulbricht, who will be 78 years old on June 30, was named chairman of the party "in recognition of his services." Mr. Ulbricht will also continue as chairman of the State Council, or nominal head of state.

The move demoting Mr. Ulbricht was taken early in May, and is now confirmed by the congress in outlining the subtle but marked shift in East Germany's political stance.

At the congress, attended by Soviet Communist party chief Leonid I. Brezhnev and other East European Communist leaders, Mr. Honecker made it clear that post-Ulbricht East Germany would stand out less as an independent quantity in the Soviet orbit, moving toward greater integration within the bloc.

Following the Russian line, the congress declared its readiness "in the interest of détente in the heart of Europe to contribute toward normalizing relations with West Berlin."

The Communists said the city "does not and never will belong to the Federal Republic," but in contrast to earlier pronouncements and apparently at Russian pressure, they dropped all reference to West Berlin as "an independent political entity," a term seen unacceptable in the West.

In outlining relations with West Germany, the East Germans also appeared more moderate than before. They did not press for full diplomatic recognition, but called for relations "based on equal rights and on international laws."

Brezhnev Visits Ulbricht
MOSCOW, June 20 (AP)—Soviet leader Brezhnev returned to Moscow from East Berlin last night, Tass reported today. The official East German news agency, ADN, reported that Mr. Brezhnev yesterday had engaged him in "a hearty, friendly talk and wished him a good recovery."

Climactic EEC-British Talks Starting Today

LUXEMBOURG, June 20 (Reuters)—Britain and the Common Market Six are in the view of officials and diplomats on both sides "condemned to succeed" at the fateful negotiating session on British entry beginning here tomorrow.

For even if all the outstanding major issues surrounding British membership cannot be ironed out this week, it will be because of technical difficulties and not due to a lack of political will on either side.

The mood here is one of muted optimism that, with tough bargaining on both sides, the three vital issues—the future of New Zealand's dairy exports to Britain, Britain's contribution to the European Economic Community's budget, and protection for Britain's inshore fishermen—can be settled at what is shaping up as a marathon in the EEC tradition.

British negotiator Geoffrey Rippon arrived here today confident of success.

"This is an extremely important two days in the history of the negotiations," he said on arrival at Luxembourg airport.

"We have a great deal at stake in ensuring the stability, prosperity and progress of 300 million Europeans."

The actual negotiating session does not start until tomorrow night. Many officials believe the breakthrough may not come until sometime Tuesday night or even the early hours of Wednesday morning.

There has been little doubt as to the successful outcome of the negotiations since President Georges Pompidou gave Britain the green light at his summit meeting with British Prime Minister Edward Heath in Paris last month.

This mood was reinforced by the speed with which France ac-

cepted proposals for dealing with sterling's reserve role submitted by Mr. Rippon at the last session here two weeks ago.

France had previously taken a tough stand, arguing that sterling's role as a reserve currency is incompatible with Common Market membership and that action is needed now. The British

OAU Summit Opens Today; S. Africa Dialogue Is Issue

ADDIS ABABA, June 20 (Reuters)—A four-day summit conference of the Organization of African Unity that opens here tomorrow will be asked to endorse a declaration that there exists at present no basis for a dialogue with South Africa.

The declaration, adopted yesterday by the OAU ministerial council preparing the summit agenda, rejected the idea of a dialogue as long as the South African government refused to accept the principles of the Lusaka Manifesto.

This manifesto, adopted by African states three years ago and endorsed by the United Nations against opposition from South Africa, called for elimination of apartheid and steps towards majority rule in South Africa as a prerequisite to negotiations.

Five French-speaking OAU nation members, main supporters of a dialogue with South Africa, walked out of the ministerial council on Friday saying they would only discuss the question of dialogue at the full summit meeting. They were the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Upper Volta, Dahomey and Togo. All are expected to be represented tomorrow.

Only 12 of the 41 members of

view prevailed, and the sterling issue will only be settled once Britain becomes a member.

The future of Commonwealth sugar exports after British entry, a second pivotal issue, was formally settled at the last session here, although the groundwork was laid several weeks previously.

the organization will be represented by their head of state. At least one country—Uganda, which originally was to have been the host of this year's summit—is boycotting the meeting. Congo-Kinshasa, which also was to have boycotted the summit in support of the Amin government of Uganda, decided to send its foreign minister today after a last-minute appeal from Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

Okoi Arikpo, the Nigerian commissioner for external affairs, told reporters here today that he was certain the council declaration, adopted by 27 votes in favor, four against and two abstentions, would be endorsed by the summit.

He said yesterday's voting on the declaration, which many delegates considered strongly worded, did not surprise him at all because he knew that every member of the OAU was against a dialogue under present circumstances.

Soviet A-Test Recorded

UPPSALA, Sweden, June 20 (Reuters)—The Seismological Institute here recorded a new Soviet underground nuclear test in Siberia yesterday. It was slightly less powerful than the previous test in the area.

Brandt Sees Berlin Progress And General Trend to Détente

BONN, June 20 (AP)—Chancellor Willy Brandt said today that four-power talks on Berlin have reached a decisive phase, and he spoke optimistically of prospects for détente in other areas of East-West confrontation.

Mr. Brandt was reporting back to his Social Democrat party (SPD) a day after returning from talks with President Nixon, Secretary of State William P. Rogers and other American leaders during a week-long U.S. visit.

An SPD communiqué after the meeting quoted Mr. Brandt as saying that the four-power negotiators "are now in the decisive phase—which does not mean the final phase."

He added that the talks among the four main victors of World War II—the Soviet Union, the United States, France and Britain—are to be continued without a summer pause in an attempt to reach agreement. The SPD communiqué said Mr.

Brandt feels that Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev's latest statement on the Berlin issue shows the Soviet government's interest in a Berlin agreement.

Mr. Brandt added that Mr. Brezhnev's speech, at East Germany's Communist party congress last week, showed that the Soviet Union and West Germany attach equal importance to the non-aggression treaty they signed in Moscow last August. Bonn has tied ratification of the treaty to a Berlin agreement.

Mr. Brandt said his talks with President Nixon showed him that Washington and Bonn are in complete harmony on the Berlin issue.

He said Bonn's policy of détente with Communist East Europe is seen as a "positive contribution" to what he referred to as the "trend of world political development" toward reducing East-West friction.

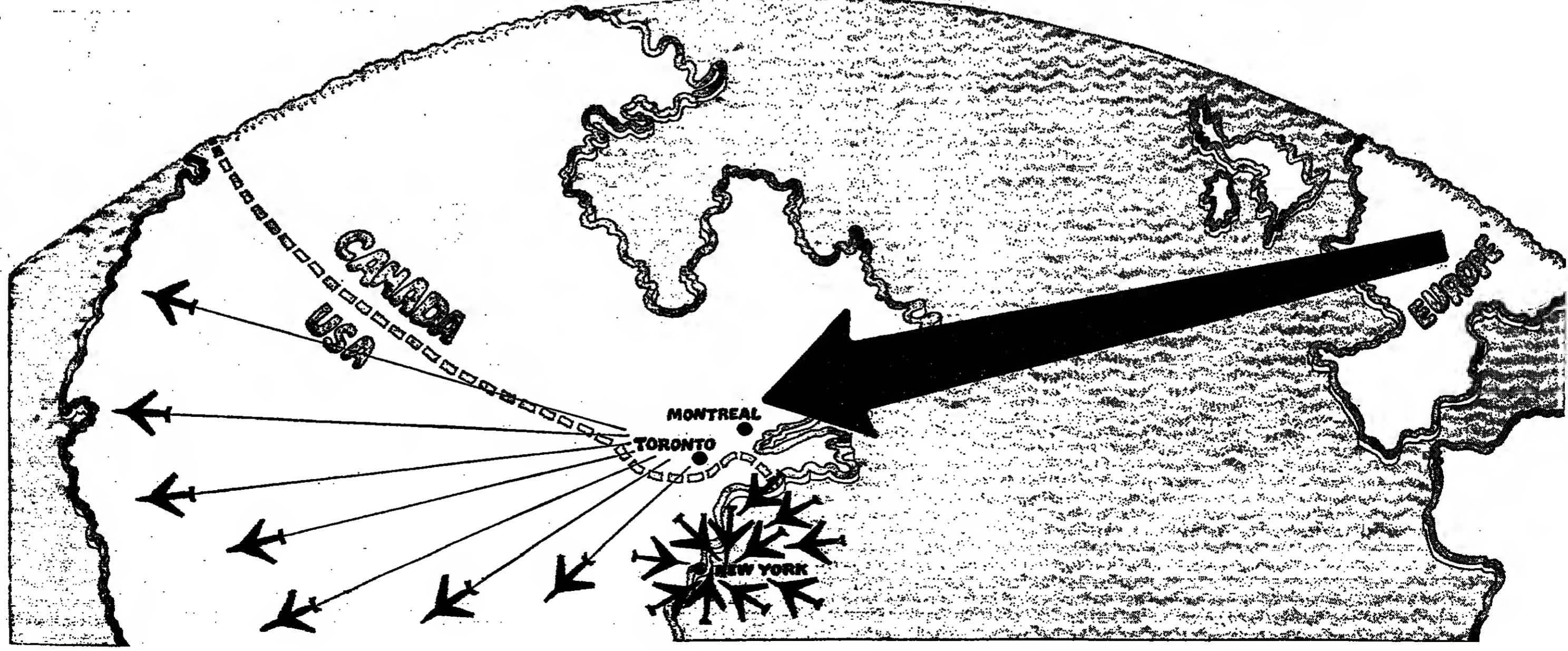
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AIR CANADA



Pentagon Papers

By Max Frankel

NEW YORK (NYT).—The Pentagon's own best account of how the United States tricked itself into a war it could not win began to appear serially in The New York Times last week—until The Times was ordered to stop, at least temporarily, to let the government prove that further publication would cause "irreparable" injury to the national defense and ought to be enjoined by court order, presumably forever.

Thus came into being the case of the United States of America v. The New York Times Co.

For the first time, as far as anyone could tell, an American newspaper of general circulation was restrained by prior court order from publishing articles and documents whose content could only be surmised by the government and whose damaging properties, therefore, could only be assumed. For The Times refused to let either judge or general, or even President, inspect or edit the articles before they appeared in print. And it vowed to fight to the Supreme Court, if necessary, to beat back the government's attempt at "censorship."

Purest Conflict

The case posed the purest possible conflict between individual freedom and national security.

Legally, it was a contest between the First Amendment freedoms of speech and press against the government's right to protect itself by court injunction.

Symbolically, it was typical of the conflicts of the Vietnam era, between the rule of law and the necessity for order, between the demands for social justice at home and the requirements of physical security abroad, between the rights of the citizen and the rights of society.

Politically, it was the climax of two years of tension between the Nixon administration and the dominant instruments of communication. The use of the espionage laws to inhibit and harass The New York Times—and then The Washington Post, as well—was interpreted by some as the ultimate expression of President Nixon's persistent resentment of those newspapers and Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew's roundhouse denunciations of them.

But it was not Republican interests that Attorney General John N. Mitchell had to defend, except in the broadest sense, more Republican than Democratic are on the conservative side of the current social conflict in America.

The articles published in The Times in the first three installments about the Pentagon papers have already been universally interpreted as the severest possible indictment of the Lyndon B. Johnson administration and the officials brought to eminence and power by John F. Kennedy's Eastern intellectual establishment—so much so that a common first reaction of many readers was to suspect a deliberate leak of government secrets and documents by the Nixon administration.

Tomorrow, the Kennedy administration increases the stakes. The Times said before it was forced to suspend the Vietnam series last Tuesday.

Times Refuses

The Times refused to divulge the sources of its materials. It refused to state how it came by them, through the "investigative reporting" of Neil Sheehan, a reporter in the Washington bureau. It refused, despite the persistent pleas of the government to give any more than the sketchiest descriptions of the documents in its possession. And it refused to surrender the materials. To yield on any of these points, it argued, would risk betrayal of its sources and the loss of confidence by all other potential sources of information—inside as well as outside government. This right to stand mute had already been tried in last year's case of Times reporter Earl Caldwell, and resulted in court victories awaiting Supreme Court review.

The issue now was the freedom of the press itself—the right to

Major Test—'This, Too, Vietnam Wrought'

What They Said in Public and in Private

On First Plans for Forays Into North Vietnam

PUBLIC: Q. "Mr. President . . . Representative Laird of Wisconsin declared that the Administration is preparing to move the Vietnam war into the North. Is there any substance to this claim?"

A. "I know of no plans that have been made to that effect."
—President Johnson's news conference, June 2, 1964.

PRIVATE: "[The United States' policy is] to prepare immediately to be in a position on 72 hours' notice to initiate [the previously recommended] 'Retaliatory Actions' against North Vietnam, and to be in a position on 30 days' notice to initiate the program of 'Graduated Overt Military Pressure' against North Vietnam."
—National Security Action Memorandum 288, March 17, 1964.

On What Lay Behind the Gulf of Tonkin Incidents

PUBLIC: Q. "Mr. Secretary, can you give us the basic reasons for the Gulf of Tonkin incident?"

A. "It is a routine patrol of the type we carry out in international waters all over the world."
—Secretary of Defense McNamara's news conference, Aug. 5, 1964, after the reported North Vietnamese PT boat attacks on the Maddox and Turner Joy.

PRIVATE: "The destroyer patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin . . . were [an] element in the covert military pressures against North Vietnam. While the purpose of the patrols was mainly psychological, as a show of force, the destroyers collected the kind of intelligence on North Vietnamese warning radars and coastal defenses that would be useful to [South Vietnamese] raiding parties or, in the event of a bombing campaign, to pilots."
—The New York Times summary of the Pentagon study.

On When the Covert War Against the North Began

PUBLIC: Q. "Mr. Secretary . . . Have there been any incidents that you know involving the South Vietnamese vessels and the North Vietnamese?"

A. "No, none that I know of."
—Secretary McNamara's news conference, Aug. 6, 1964, on the Tonkin Gulf incidents.

PRIVATE: "What the Pentagon papers call 'an elaborate program of covert military operations against the State of North Vietnam' began on Feb. 1, 1964, under the code name Operation 34A. . . . At midnight on July 30, South Vietnamese naval commandos under General Westmoreland's command staged an amphibious raid on the North Vietnamese islands of Hon Me and Hon Nieu in the Gulf of Tonkin. . . . 'Apparently, [the study] explains, [the North Vietnamese boats that attacked the Maddox] had mistaken Maddox for a South Vietnamese escort vessel.'"
—The New York Times summary of the Pentagon study.

On When the Full-Scale Troop Commitment Began

PUBLIC: Q. "Mr. President, does the fact that you are sending additional forces to Vietnam imply any change in the existing policy, . . . ?"

A. "It does not imply any change in policy whatever. It does not imply any change of objective."
—President Johnson's news conference, July 28, 1965.

PRIVATE: "[The decision in mid-July to commit 200,000 troops to battle] was perceived as a threshold—entrance into an Asian land war. The conflict was seen to be long, with further U.S. deployments to follow."
—The Pentagon study.

On When Johnson Decided on an Offensive Strategy

PUBLIC: Q. "Mr. President, General Taylor said yesterday he would be bringing you some definitive proposals [on Vietnam] today. Do you envision anything very dramatic in those proposals?"

A. "I don't know exactly how to answer that 'dramatic' term. . . . I think that we are inclined to be too dramatic about our prophecies and our predictions and I might say too irresponsible sometimes. . . . I know of no far-reaching strategy that is being suggested or promulgated."
—President Johnson's news conference, April 1, 1965.

PRIVATE: "On Thursday, April 1, [1965] the President made the following decisions with respect to Vietnam."
"The President approved the urgent exploration of the 12 suggestions for covert and other actions submitted by the Director of Central Intelligence. . . . The President approved an 18-20,000 man increase in U.S. military support forces [then numbering 27,000]. . . . The President approved a change of mission for all Marine Battalions deployed to Vietnam [from static defense to offensive action]."
—National Security Action Memorandum 328, April 6, 1965.

"The fact that this departure from a long-held policy had momentous implications was well recognized by the Administration leadership [but] Mr. Johnson was greatly concerned that the step be given as little prominence as possible."
—The Pentagon study.

On When Johnson Decided to Bomb the North

PUBLIC: "There are those who say, you ought to go north and drop bombs, to try to wipe out the supply lines, and they think that would escalate the war. We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys: We don't want to get involved in a nation with 700 million people and get tied down in a land war in Asia."
—President Johnson, Sept. 25, 1964.

PRIVATE: "The Johnson Administration reached a 'general consensus' at a White House strategy meeting on Sept. 7, 1964, that air attacks against North Vietnam would probably have to be launched, [the Pentagon study] states. . . . 'What prevented action for the time being was a set of tactical considerations.' The first tactical consideration, the analyst says, was that 'the President was in the midst of an election campaign in which he was presenting himself as the candidate of reason and restraint as opposed to the quibbling Barry Goldwater,' who was publicly advocating full-scale bombing of North Vietnam."
—The New York Times summary of the Pentagon study.

On the Real Reason for the Bombing

PUBLIC: "Two U.S. barracks areas [at Pleiku, South Vietnam] were subjected to deliberate surprise attacks. Substantial casualties resulted. . . . these attacks were made possible by the continuing infiltration of personnel from North Vietnam. . . . AS in the case of the North Vietnamese attacks in the Gulf of Tonkin last August, the response [an air strike against North Vietnam] is appropriate and fitting. . . . we seek no wider war."
—White House statement, Feb. 7, 1965.

PRIVATE: "We believe that the best available way of increasing our chance of success in Vietnam is the development and execution of a policy of sustained reprisal against North Vietnam. . . . we may wish at the outset to relate our reprisals to those acts of relative high visibility such as the Pleiku incident. Later we might retaliate against the assassination of a province chief. . . . we might retaliate against a grenade thrown into a crowded cafe in Saigon. . . . Once a program of reprisals is clearly underway, it should not be necessary to connect each specific act against North Vietnam to a particular outrage in the South. . . ."
—McGeorge Bundy, Presidential assistant for national security, in a memorandum to President Johnson, Feb. 7, 1965.

speaking out, regardless of consequence, under the First Amendment of the Constitution. That extraordinary and unique doctrine of liberty has already been interpreted by the Supreme Court to protect even the publication of lies about public figures, and, more recently, private citizens in public roles, provided only that the accuser could not demonstrate the presence of an overwhelming malice.

To the persistent question in court last week—who elected The Times to define the national security or to determine which secrets could be published?—the Constitution. It acknowledged, but only philosophically and hypothetically, that there could be a risk of injury or national peril so great as to justify an effort by the courts or Congress to enjoin publication of certain information before the fact. But it conceded no such risk or justification at this time. This odd chapter in the saga of American journalism began in the summer of 1958—at the height of battle in Vietnam and the height of frustration with that battle in the Pentagon. Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, privately disillusioned and publicly stalwart, was persuaded to commission a huge

history of decision-making about Indochina. He said that he wanted to leave a record of what went wrong, although he knew it would also be a record of how many other governments and officials had been wrong before his time.

Leslie Gelb, on Mr. McNamara's staff, assembled a scholarly team of 30 to 40 civilian and military officials, inside and outside government, all of them familiar with some aspect of the Vietnam history. They were given access to all the files of the Pentagon and many documents of the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and other offices, but not to the personal papers of the Presidents.

Within a year, they produced what almost every government authority describes as a thorough, scholarly, monumental and cold-blooded study of the decision-making process—by no means complete or definitive, but based upon the textual authority of those secret government papers, minutes, cables and even first-draft proposals than usually appear in public even long after the events they describe.

It is a chilling record of diplomatic and military duplicity by four American administrations, even to those who deem the cause more just than that of the Communist adversaries. The Pen-

Embarrassment Seen

There can be no doubt that the publication of such a record, as much as the misery of the war itself, will temporarily embarrass the U.S. government in the eyes of the world and its own citizens, and it may damage the professional reputations of some of the principal actors.

The tonic value of such an orgy of truth-telling remains to be seen. All other issues aside, the publication of this record will finally test the real benefit of the truth-that-murts—as well as the inanity of a democratic people and the philosophical underpinning of the First Amendment, both of which will be simultaneously tested in the courts.

For most of this vast history, including much of its documentation, came into the possession of

The Times, then other newspapers, individuals and members of Congress. It will come out. After months of painstaking research, analysis and preparation, and weeks of internal debate about the proper method of presentation, The Times began last Sunday to give its readers a more orderly, though also more concise, rendering of the history than the study itself, along with three pages of key documents for each installment.

The Times began with the most important and most recent revelations—the events behind President Johnson's decision to wage secret war against North Vietnam in early 1964, to wage overt aerial war against North Vietnam in 1965 and to commit American soldiers to combat in South Vietnam in 1965. In the remaining articles, The Times said, it would demonstrate among other things how President Kennedy transformed a policy of "limited-risk gambles" into a "broad commitment," how the Eisenhower administration played a "direct role in the ultimate breakdown of the Geneva settlement" for Indochina; and how the Truman administration, to hold France for the West in Europe, took the side of France in Indochina and thus "set" the course of a generation of American policy.

Shock Spreads

Slowly, the magnitude of the revelations in The Times's materials impressed themselves upon the governments and publics of the world. Shock, surprise, rage, anger, consternation spread in their wake. Other publications reprinted much of the material. Other governments reacted force-

Ads.

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the final decision of the court. The Justice Department came to court, before a new district court judge, Murray I. Gurfein, who ordered the paper to halt the series to give the government a chance to prove its charges of dire injury.

Unprecedented Action

This unprecedented "prior restraint" resulted from the judge's view that the damage to The Times of a few more days' delay could not possibly compare with the possible damage that the government wished to prove to obtain a permanent restraint. A temporary restraining order was fixed to expire at 1 p.m. Saturday.

As the government and Times lawyers appeared for argument before Judge Gurfein on Friday, there arrived that morning's Washington Post, with a new and distinct account of the secret Pentagon study, covering the Eisenhower years, which The Times was under orders to hold back. Despite the evidence that the story was now spreading fast, the judge refused to rule the issue moot.

He searched in the testimony for factual evidence of the government's charge of irreparable harm, even allowing four hours of secret discussion of secrets. He heard The Times contest not only the charge of damage but also the claims of legal authority for the silencing of a newspaper. He searched throughout for a compromise arrangement by which "patriotic" men on both sides, acting "in good faith," could find a way to inform the public in the fullest possible way while still guarding the nation's most vital political and military secrets.

As the White House acknowledged, the government now saw the damage as already done. It wished to salvage only a precedent for future restraint and perhaps some evidence for later criminal prosecution of the sources, the newspapers, or both. But The Times refused to surrender any part of its right to decide what it will publish in this matter, and so did The Washington Post when it was brought to court the same day.

Enjoined on Appeal

The Post was not enjoined on the first round, but then it was, on appeal.

The Times, after suffering four days of silence and frantic court debate, won release Saturday from the court's restraint. It also won Judge Gurfein's opinion—confirming its own—that there were "no cogent reasons . . . as to why these documents, except in the general framework of embarrassment . . . would vitally affect the security of the nation."

The government, however, won another short restraint on The Times, until today, pending appeal.

And so these two great newspapers—partners in the management of the International Herald Tribune in Paris but competitors in the United States—sundered out portions of the great story and pursued their common cause in separate legal proceedings, which are plainly destined to open a new era of definition of the Bill of Rights.

All this, too, Vietnam has wrought.

Judge Gurfein's Ruling in N.Y. Times Case

... This court does not doubt the right of the government to injunctive relief against a newspaper that is about to publish information or documents vital to current national security. But it does not find that to be the case here...

"For I am constrained to find as a fact that the in camera proceedings at which representatives of the Department of State, Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff testified did not convince this court that the publication of these historical documents would seriously breach the national security. It is true, of course, that any breach of security will cause the jitters in the security agencies themselves and indeed in foreign governments who deal with us. But to sustain a preliminary injunction the government would have to establish not only irreparable injury, but also the possibility of success in the litigation itself. It is true that the court has not been able to read through the many volumes of documents to the history of Vietnam, but it did give the government an opportunity to pinpoint what it believed to be vital breaches to our national security of sufficient impact to contravert the right of a free press. Without revealing the content of the testimony, suffice it to say that no cogent reasons were advanced as to why these documents, except in the general framework of embarrassment pre-

viously mentioned, would vitally affect the security of the nation...

"The First Amendment of a 'free press' must be read in the light of the struggle of free men against prior restraint of publication. From the time of Blackstone it was a tenet of the founding fathers that press censorship was the primary evil to be dealt with in the First Amendment. Fortunately, upon the facts adduced in this case there is no sharp clash such as might have appeared between the vital security interest of the nation and the compelling constitutional doctrine against prior restraint. If there be some embarrassment to the government in security aspects as remote as the general embarrassment that flows from any security breach, we must learn to live with it. The security of the nation is not at the ramparts alone. Security, also lies in the value of our free institutions. A cantankerous press, an obstinate press, a ubiquitous press must be suffered by those in authority in order to preserve the even greater values of freedom of expression and the right of the people to know...

"These are troubled times. There is no greater safety valve for discontent and cynicism about the affairs of government than freedom of expression in any form. This has been the genius of our institutions throughout our history. It has been the credo of all our Presidents. It is one of the marked traits of our national life that distinguish us from other nations under different forms of government..."

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The Dutch Catholics' Church Within the Church

Accommodating Loyalty to Rome and Innovations at Home

By James M. Johnson

AMSTERDAM (REUTERS).—“One Dutchman is a theologian, two a church and three a schism.”

About four years ago, this adage was frequently invoked by Dutch Roman Catholics seeking to explain the turmoil in their church, their sudden progressiveness after decades of quiet inertia, the Holy See's openly expressed fears and warnings, the pilgrimages to the Netherlands by journalists and Catholic liberals from other nations.

Controversy constantly erupted and, for a time perhaps, it did really seem that three Dutchmen could make a schism.

The upsurge, for the most part, has now subsided. According to the optimists, the Dutch church has entered a period of consolidation. The pessimists, however, are convinced that the surface calm cloaks a mood of frustration, unrest and disillusionment that is even more dangerous for the future of the church than open conflict.

Virtually until the opening of the Second Vatican Council in 1962, the Dutch church was fairly conservative. But pressures for change apparently had been building up since World War II and the council unleashed them, propelling the church here to the forefront of the Catholic progressive movement.

However, the liberals, as in other countries, tend to be highly articulate and their success in publishing their views and experiments created an illusion of all-conquering liberalism.

Percentages Belied

The liberals may represent about 15 to 20 percent of the Dutch Catholic population, while conservatives account for at least 10 to 15 percent, it is estimated. The liberals are extremely vocal,

active and persuasive. The conservatives are far less effective in public relations.

They tend to rely—especially Confrontation (Confrontation), the largest and most militant of their groups—upon contacts with powerful conservatives at the Vatican to achieve through authoritarian methods what they apparently cannot accomplish through persuasion. The conservatives have frequently denounced liberals to appeals to Rome for disciplinary action to curb the progressives and restore the “old order of things” to the Netherlands.

The vast majority of Dutch Catholics must be regarded as moderates but more inclined to the left than the right. The Dutch are proud of their tradition of tolerance and the liberals have benefited from this predilection.

Between the liberals and conservatives stand the seven bishops of the Netherlands, led by Bernard Jan Cardinal Alfrink, the archbishop of Utrecht. The hierarchy is constantly assailed from both left and right, but it has successfully maintained contact with the progressives, Rome and, to a lesser extent, the Dutch conservatives.

The bishops probably reflect fairly accurately the mentality of the moderate majority of Dutch Catholics. They want to keep both liberals and conservatives within the fold, retain the bonds of unity with the pope in Rome and the churches of other countries and, at the same time, permit the Dutch church to develop new structures and concepts that meet the particular needs and capabilities of the Netherlands without going too fast or too slow.

The bishops and their advisers have been amazingly successful, due in great part to the leadership of Cardinal Alfrink, a shy and perhaps conservative prelate.

“In his heart, the cardinal is a Roman Catholic,” a church official said recently, “but he will fight for the Dutch church. He is prudent, however, and will not seek battles that do not need to be fought.” He is also a clever man and a realist.

Maintaining unity with Rome has been, perhaps, the most difficult of the Dutch hierarchy's chores, for the bishops not only must battle the conservative influences of the Roman Curia, but also must constantly struggle within themselves against their training and inclination to obedience toward Rome.

There is also the complication of different cultures. “One of our problems is the difference in terminology,” Dr. O. ter Raegen of the Pastoral Institute in Rotterdam said. “For example, when we refer to pastor activity, we mean social action and other work that can be performed by laymen, married priests or anyone else. But pastoral for Rome always means priestly and so we have had many needless clashes.”

More Ancient Basis

This and other differences are so pronounced that Cardinal Alfrink has sought to provide a theological foundation for local development based on a tradition even more ancient than Roman centralism. In 1967, he told a European bishops' conference:

“Within the universal church, the local churches should have the possibility of demonstrating their own character. The universality of the church is nourished by a multitude of cultures and traditions which are all linked in the unity of the authentic faith of the church. Here then is the basis of the aspiration for a legitimate pluriformity in the unity of the church.”

The cardinal's argument, in which he has been supported by

his fellow bishops and by a vast majority of Dutch clergy and laity, is that, knowing its own problems and possibilities far better than any other, the Dutch church should have freedom to develop new forms and methods, while retaining unity with the universal church.

Frequent Disputes

That the cardinal's argument has received little sympathy in Rome is indicated by the frequent disputes between the Holy See and the Dutch church. The most recent conflict was over the appointment by Pope Paul VI of the Most Rev. Adriaan J. Simonis, a conservative, as bishop of Rotterdam.

The appointment was attacked by diocesan clergy and pastoral councils, defended by the papal nuncio, criticized by the hierarchy but forced through by the Holy See. The Dutch argued that other candidates were democratically recommended by the local church. Rome argued that the appointment of bishops is a papal prerogative—it has been since the late middle ages.

Bishop Simonis was accepted by the Dutch bishops on the condition that he would collaborate with them. And he has found, according to various sources, that conservative candidates were democratically recommended by the local church. Ironically, he is now under intense attack from the conservatives for his accommodation.

Meanwhile, the Dutch bishops are painfully aware that the battles with Rome and the conservatives, in which no one seems to win, no one loses and little appears to change, are alienating many progressives. In recent months, they have increased their efforts to find ways in which to accommodate the liberals without further antagonizing Rome or the right.

One instance is the relations between the bishop of Haarlem, the Most Rev. Theo Zwartkruis, and the Septuagint group, which is led by a young priest, the Rev. Jan Ruyter of Beverwijk. The group is composed of active and intelligent laymen and clerics who are convinced the church not only must reform itself, but also should actively seek social justice through political action.

Until last fall, Father Ruyter's pastor and parish board were understanding and sympathetic, but then the young priest created a dispute by preaching on controversial political issues. Eventually, it appeared that Father Ruyter and the entire Septuagint group would drift away from the official church.

But then a shrewd canonist came forward, the Rev. H. Kuipers, vicar-general of the Haarlem diocese. Father Kuipers proposed that the Septuagint group be chartered by the hierarchy as a pious association, which would be structurally linked to the diocese but which would enjoy considerable freedom to speak and act independently of church officialdom.

Underground Church

Father Kuipers is acutely aware of the tendency of active liberal groups to move away from the church. Shalom, a group of Protestant and Catholic laymen and a few ministers and priests, was formed about ten years ago to promote Christian unity and reform of church life and structures.

“Many laymen and groups are silently leaving the church,” Father Kuipers admitted. “And many of them are the most active and committed persons. We must do everything that we can to keep up contacts with them and to find ways in which they can have the freedom to develop and to share their gifts with the church. It is not easy, but it is essential.”



TODAY—The Jan Hus statue in Prague's Old Town Square.

'Better to Laugh Than Weep'

By Betty Werther

PRAGUE (REUTERS).—The cold and rain of June this year partly reflect the dreary spirit of a small and sensitive people apishly watching its rich culture being coldly and systematically assassinated. Burdened with bankrupt economy, stifled by a claustrophobia of closed fronts and moral isolation, 13 1/2 million Czechs observe with note the near sterility of their intellectuals, who are jobless, the stultification of their schools and such of Prague, one of the most beautiful cities in the world, crumbling into ruin.

In a way the situation is morally more devastating than the Stalinist terror of the 1950s (“You could believe or not, but there was still work to be done.”) or even than the German occupation (“All wars have an end.”)

Somehow the Czechs are still warily gay. “We have none Dostoevski in us,” they say, after to laugh than weep. We see no natural disasters you see, earthquakes or volcanoes. Our national disaster is occupation, “happens, therefore, our greatest duty is patience.”

Like the “Good Soldier Schweik” who passively resisted Hapsburgs, they wait and wait that this ordeal will not, that last three hundred years, visible, but with their presence felt in Prague, the 80,000 let troops garrisoned in their Bohemia and Moravia, no longer there “provisionally.” The soldiers occasionally visit Prague in civilian clothes are instantly recognized by Czechs, whose most restrained active to describe their appearance and attitude is “rustic.”

Leader Scorned

Even more than they dislike Russians, whose friendship they so sincerely sought in 1968, Czechs now scorn their new leaders as ambitious, incompetent, lacking foresight, outside ideas, clinging to jobs which their normal circumstances they could never hope to occupy.

The most bitter pills are swallowed by the old militants among 500,000 expelled army members, those who still insist that the 1948 Socialist model was already distinctively Czech and one and that even after the risky trial in the Stalinist era when things went bad, they or lost hope of building the kind of Socialist state in which they still believe—or job until night of August 20-21, 1968. What is there to be militant at today?” said one artist, a party hero of the 1930s, or such men the giant billboards and banners hanging throughout the country in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Czech Communist Party are dull reminders of disengagement and unfulfilled promises.

Housing Problem

Even the new Prague subway, which does have priority ratings, is temporarily blocked. A young Prague urbanist describes that situation with almost whimsical resignation: “We started construction with Italian machines,” he said, “now it seems Russian equipment is better so we must wait for that. Our designers had also developed a prototype for subway cars. New Russian cars are judged not only less expensive but better, too. The only trouble is that the Russian cars are too heavy for the bridge which will provide subway connections between two parts of the city, so either the bridge or the cars must be modified. Work was supposed to have been finished by 1975. Who knows?”

Black Market

A strongly favorable exchange rate plus a flourishing black market may make the lovely little city one of the cheapest vacation paradises on the Continent, any even Prague's 700-bed Hotel is this week packed with American tourists. For tourists, every cobblestone in the Prague castle complex is polished and each tiny apartment's house in Golden Street is freshly painted. But a drastically insufficient supply of cars plus the fact that there are as listless as they

were enthusiastic in 1968, leads to a situation wherein only the highest priority construction projects are undertaken or completed.

Thus, work on an 800-room International Hotel speeds ahead on the banks of the Vltava (Moldau). Judging from the number of applications received from unemployed Prague intellectuals and professional men, it may, when it opens next year, boast the highest number of staff biologists, literary critics and lawyers of any hotel in the world.

Even more astounding to Czechs, who may never set foot in the place, is the spacious new Soviet Cultural Center, one of the only new buildings in town, which went up in six short months.

Elsewhere in Prague, what may to the tourist look like widespread “restoration” is actually outright neglect or total abandon.

No Workers Seen

To cross the Charles Bridge, one of the city's jewels, one must use a rickety wooden overpass built between now rusted scaffolds. There is not a worker in sight and, although “restoration” was begun at least two years ago, no one knows when it will be resumed, much less finished.

The Decorative Arts Museum, where curators meticulously maintain the greatest collection of glass (notably priceless Bohemian baroque) in the world, has been closed, again for “restoration” for four years and, except for temporary exhibits, is expected to remain so for at least four more.

The National Museum at the top of Wenceslas Square has the most rusty and impressive scaffolding of all to cover the monumental facade mangled by shellfire during the night of August 20-21, 1968. The regime tried to push through repairs at last month's party Congress but failed, so work is now likely to be postponed indefinitely.

In front of the museum, red-and-white barricades surround the equestrian statue of Saint Wenceslas which bears the inscription “Let Us Not Perish, Nor Those Who Follow Us.” The authorities claim the barricades were set up because of construction of the new subway underneath, but many say it was to prevent people from depositing flowers and wreaths as they still do on the grave of Jan Palach, who burned himself to death in protest of the invasion.

Housing Problem

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The people of Prague shrug their shoulders and return to their more immediate problems. The housing shortage in Prague, despite some new modern developments to the outskirts, is so acute that it is almost unthinkable to start a family these days. It takes not only 30 months of salary but 11 years to get a three-room apartment in a cooperative house, and it takes a family to have sufficient priority to rent a state-owned flat. So couples wait or move in with parents or relatives.

Not only did 50,000 (an official figure) Czechs, most members of the elite, emigrate after the 1968 invasion, but now there is another population problem in the fact that general discouragement, uncertainty about the future, and the housing crisis are responsible for a sharply declining birthrate.

However, the Czechs eat well. There's plenty of “Pivo” (smooth Czech beer) and rich Moravian wine to drink.

And, although they may have to wait months to get one, most people have a Czech or Russian, even a small French or Italian, car. Otherwise there is yet little sign of much-announced increases in Western imported consumer goods. One sees an occasional bottle of American ketchup (traded, the Czechs laughingly insist, for “our slovic”) and you can get a can of Coca Cola if you are willing to pay a price equivalent to that of a full meal.

Neither do the Czechs have any clothing problem—but that's about as much as one can say. The young girls continue to wear mini skirts as short as they used to be in Britain while more sophisticated women wear mid-lengths or, since stockings cost a fortune, dress in pants. But it takes time and talent to achieve any degree of elegance in a country where only clothes of the most mediocre quality and style are available. For the refined Czech woman, buying shoes is torture. Even the recent criticism of party leader Gustav Husak aimed at the shoe industry (2/3 of Czech production is exported to Russia) has been to no avail. “If you happen to find a shoe which suits you style-wise,” said a style-conscious blonde, “you can be sure the shop won't have your size.”

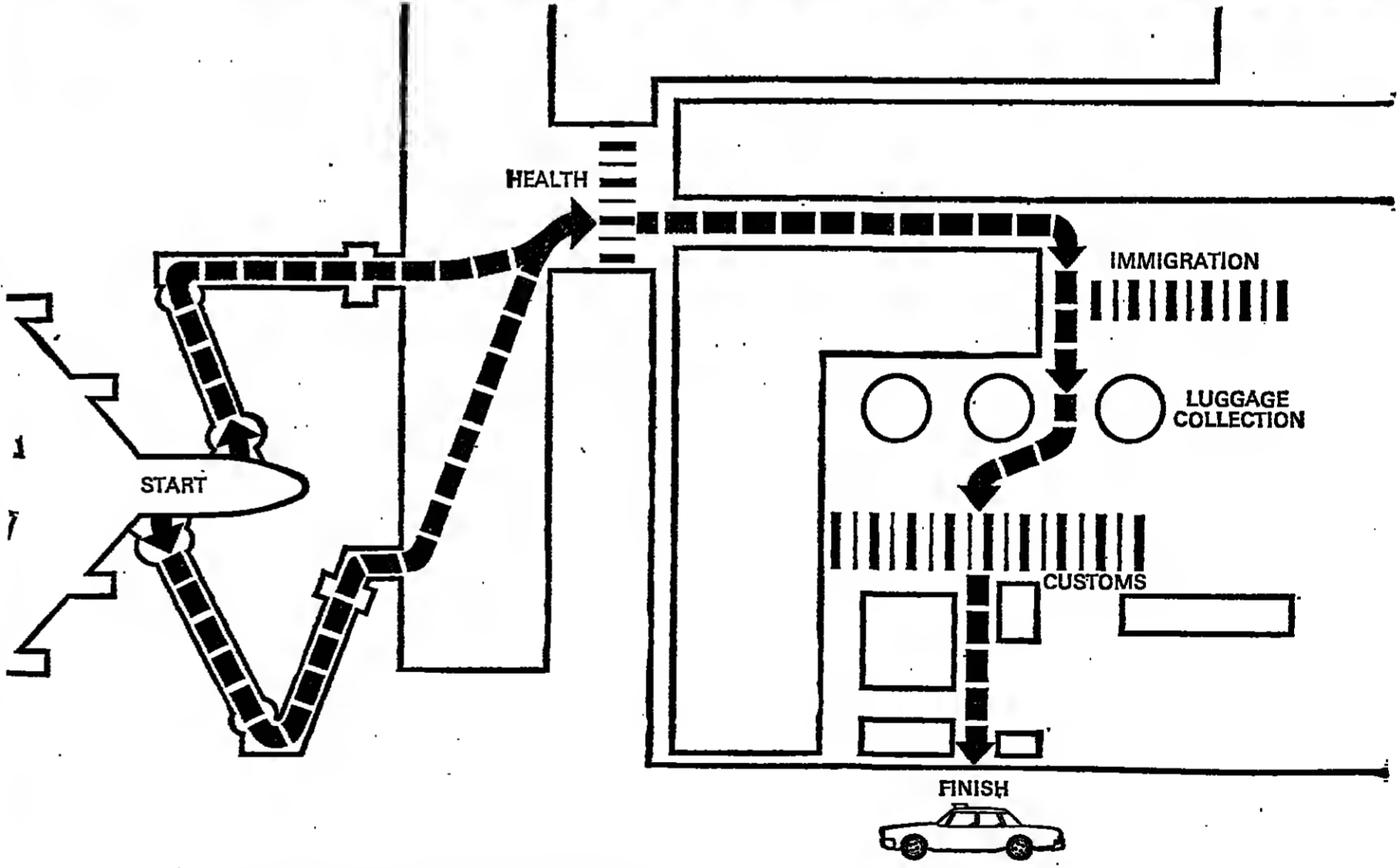
Service Problem

The most frustrating part of daily living is services, an area of the economy which Alexander Dubcek's regime seriously considered returning to the private sector. A state service will call for laundry. “But,” said one working mother, “who has enough linen to wait six weeks for it to be returned?” Everyone remembers at the thought that the car or the plumbing will break down. Then even costly bribes to state services may carry months of delay.

More commonly, one hears through friends of someone willing to work evenings or over weekends. These days one may find a chemist or ex-philosophy professor to build a kitchen cabinet and, for painting, policemen are usually the best bet. Thus, one family, willing to wait until after the hectic party Congress week during which the entire police force was mobilized, found a competent, if slightly exhausted, young officer to repaint the living room.

Workers in every domain, deprived of all hope of participating in the general progress, baricade themselves tightly into their own small private worlds. They live dimly in state-owned apartments in Prague, work as little as possible in their state jobs, collect their pay checks and then join the frantic weekend exodus to the country where they build their own little private houses. The tiny village of Voznice, nestled against a mirror lake in the fragrant Bohemian forest, 25 miles from Prague, is a miniature representation of 40 years of Czech history. On one side of the village the luxurious bourgeois houses of the 1930s are falling into ruin. On the other side of town, the once poor peasant dwellings look more prosperous. But it is a third area, covered with newly built and freshly varnished chalets and cottages, which best testifies to a new group of people eager to forget what is happening to their country and grab as much as possible of what the present has to offer.

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Confidence and Confidentiality

Republics, it used to be said, are ungrateful. As a general thesis, this is dubious, but it is a plain fact that democratic governments find the conduct of foreign relations extremely difficult, especially in a world which plays that complex and often deadly game under a great variety of rules, with those set down by Machiavelli in "The Prince" too often predominant.

This is perhaps the clearest lesson of the battles over the publication of the classified Pentagon documents, although in the current heat of those battles it may seem either irrelevant or a cop-out. The day-to-day conduct of foreign relations requires confidentiality—a point which President Nixon has been emphasizing. Acceptance by a democratic society of the results of that conduct requires confidence—which can only result from candor—although success will often obscure the lack of candor. When, as in Vietnam, there has been neither candor nor success, confidence in both the government and the rules it has established are gravely impaired.

It is perfectly obvious that the current mood in the United States over the Southeast Asian imbroglio, enhanced by the publicity accorded the Pentagon files, will hamper the present government in the pursuit of diplomatic relations with many countries. It may unfairly damage the reputations and usefulness of persons who worked under the old rules governing intragovernmental communications—it should not

be forgotten that one of the charges leveled against congressional committees in the McCarthy and pre-McCarthy period was their acute interest in private departmental files. Moreover, since the exposure of American tactics and policies was unilateral, it has produced a one-sided picture, damaging to American prestige.

But this springs from the nature of American democracy itself—and shows that the system, the core of the republic, still maintains its full vigor. The people of the United States know more today about the Vietnamese crisis than the people of Great Britain about the Suez crisis; than the people of France about the Algerian crisis. And one must leave wholly out of the account the Communist countries, which seldom even acknowledge that a crisis exists.

The American people, in other words, through all the heat of court struggles and public controversy, have reason for confidence in their fundamental system. They have an independent—at present it seems much too independent—executive; an independent—increasingly independent—legislature; a very independent judiciary. And they have a highly independent fourth estate in the news media. This has never prevented unified action in times of externally imposed, genuine peril. But when executive policy has gotten out of hand—as in Vietnam—the reaction, however belated, is powerful. And that is something the executive branch must learn to live with.

Progress on Okinawa

Few acts in international relations have as real and clear-cut a significance as the transfer of territory, and so the signing of an agreement by which the United States returns to Japan the war-captured Ryukyu island chain including Okinawa is particularly satisfying. It speaks on the part of the Nixon administration not only a generous gesture to an enemy-turned-ally but a shrewd investment in continued good relations with the United States' most important friend in Asia. That the agreement has been concluded in a way to strengthen and stabilize U.S.-Japan relations, and at a moment when both countries are reviewing their world roles, is a tribute to the diplomats involved on both sides.

Okinawa has been the one major Asian base area used by the United States on an unrestricted basis; it has been the keystone of the American strategic position in the far Pacific. But now it will revert to Japan, and the American military will be able to use the bases only on terms acceptable to the Japanese. In Japan there is some dispute whether these terms include continued American nuclear storage and deployment. The answer is no, not without Japanese consent, which in the circumstances of Tokyo's continuing Hiroshima-born "nuclear allergy" is unlikely to be soon forthcoming. That Japan has agreed to let the United States retain use for now of most Okinawa base facilities has raised some anxieties in Japan. It may yet lead some Americans to ask whether any real change has been made. The best way to put

down such questions is to phase out bases on an expeditious timetable. The Pentagon's passion to hold on to real estate simply cannot be indulged.

In a parallel development pleasing on several counts, the possibility that textile senators might balk early ratification of the Okinawa agreement seems to have diminished. Though President Nixon so far has not claimed credit for this, he deserves to. Earlier, in pique at his failure to limit textile imports from Japan in his own fashion, he seemed ready to hold Okinawa reversion hostage to a formal Japanese agreement on textiles. But meanwhile, he has quietly negotiated a textile agreement with Taiwan and he is negotiating now with South Korea and Hong Kong; an agreement with Malaysia already is in effect. With a textile pact with those countries in hand, Mr. Nixon could either fix quotas on Japan (under the Agricultural Assistance Act) or coax Japan into line.

This is not the ideal way to solve a trade dispute, but nothing better seems to be on the horizon and something is needed to get textiles out of the way of Japanese-American relations as a whole. A textile solution would end the threat of Senate blockage of Okinawa ratification. Those two issues wrapped up, Tokyo and Washington could go on to consider the whole range of other issues, political and especially economic, on which the further growth of their friendship depends.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Poland Under Gierk

A half-year after the disturbances that ended Wladyslaw Gomulka's political career and brought Edward Gierk to the fore, Poland gives the impression of a country in a stage of arrested development.

Mr. Gierk's accomplishments are plain enough. By a series of concessions—some made possible by Soviet economic aid—he has removed the immediate irritants which provoked last December's strikes and the related unrest early this year. With order restored, Mr. Gierk has sought to project a new image of concern for the problems of the average Polish citizen, in part by traveling assiduously about the country and meeting people face to face. The press has been given a somewhat greater area of expression. A government spokesman has been appointed to facilitate the spread of public information about state policies. There was for a time some improvement in Church-State relations, and laws to ease restrictions on private farmers are near passage.

Welcome as are these and other changes, the Gierk regime strikes many Poles as

merely a variant of the Gomulka apparatus—differing from its predecessor in degree rather than in kind. The perception is a sound one because Mr. Gierk is still ultimately bound by the same limitations that surrounded the man he succeeded. Mr. Gierk knows that he must reassure Moscow that the changes he is introducing do not threaten either the tie to the Kremlin or the dictatorship of the Communist party. Moscow must never be tempted to think Edward Gierk could become an Alexander Dubcek, for if it entertained that fear the Kremlin would act as energetically as it did in August 1968.

All this means that Mr. Gierk's reforms and efforts at change can only scratch the surface. Nevertheless he runs the danger of rousing expectations that he cannot fulfill, and thus engendering potentially explosive frustrations. Perhaps Mr. Gierk is just as happy that the Polish people, by all accounts, still remain passive and do not believe that anything more than a minor change has occurred in the manner they are ruled and by whom.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

June 21, 1896

PARIS—M. Hanotaux, Minister of Foreign Affairs, made another important statement in the Chamber of Deputies yesterday, when the debate on the bill declaring Madagascar a French colony was resumed. After explaining why at first he wanted a protectorate over Madagascar, he then was compelled to advocate the complete annexation of the island. After a lengthy debate, the bill was passed by the Chamber by 329 votes to 82.

Fifty Years Ago

June 21, 1921

NEW YORK—Mr. Samuel D. Riddle formally denied today the report that Mao-O-War, the greatest living race-horse in the world, will be brought from Kentucky for the races in Saratoga in August. Mr. Riddle's denial followed a report that he had reserved a stable at Saratoga. "Mao-O-War will stay in Kentucky until he dies; he'll never race again," Mr. Riddle said. "He is far more valuable now for his breeding purposes than for his speed."



Back to the Congress

By James Reston

"A cantankerous press, an obstinate press, a ubiquitous press must be suffered by those in authority in order to preserve the even greater values of freedom of expression"—U.S. District Judge M. L. Gurfein in U.S.A. vs The New York Times.

NEW YORK, June 20.—The press is still riding the tide of tradition in the courts against the rising power of the Presidency, but even when it prevails in its conflicts with the White House, its power is limited. It can express but cannot correct error. It can oppose executive power and on great issues find the judiciary on the side of free dissent, but even when it wins in court, it is no substitute for the Congress as an effective instrument of investigation. It is "suffered" but not followed. Accordingly, a very strong case has now been made for a thorough Congressional investigation of the war, going far deeper and far beyond anything the press has been able to do. The integrity of the government, the judgment and even the honor of many officials are at issue. The cost has been appalling and confusion over how it all happened and where it is all leading remains. In short, the issues are too important to be evaded any longer, or to be left to the Department of Justice and the press.

It was only when Secretary of Defense Laird refused to declassify and declassify the documents for the Foreign Relations Committee that men who had worked on the papers and reporters who had heard about them set out to expose the blunders and the cover-up.

A Symbol

This conflict between the government and the press is only a symbol of a much larger and more serious problem. There has always been a certain amount of deception between the executive and legislative branches, but it has been much worse under Presidents Johnson and Nixon and suspicion grows on itself. For years now, we have not had that feeling of honest differences openly faced and plainly discussed which is essential even in adversary proceedings. Almost everybody in Washington is looking for the other motive or the dirty trick.

This case has done more to revive the muckraker tradition of the American press than anything since the days of Lincoln Steffens. The evidence already published in the Times and the capacity of the President to expand this war, deceive the public and intimidate even the most intelligent of men in the civil service, the cabinet and the White House staff, but by disclosing the evidence, the press cannot cure the problem.

What it can do and has done in this case is to get the facts of the Pentagon Papers to the people, and they will have to take it from there. They are better able than the press to discriminate between documents that may really do damage to the security or diplomatic relations of the nation and documents which expose the blunders of officials or the errors in the decision-making process. All the documents in the Pentagon Papers are marked "Top Secret"—the documents that cover

military maneuvers long ago, the documents that cover sensitive diplomatic problems that still exist, and the documents that expose the most calculated deception by the President and the most arrogant misjudgments by his staff.

The press cannot sort all this out. It is a blunt but limited instrument of democracy. For example, when The Times got the Pentagon Papers, it could not do what it normally does—double-check its facts, go to the men mentioned in the papers for their side of the story—it could not do this in advance without inviting legal action and blocking the facts it was trying to disclose.

But the Congress can deal with these important distinctions. It has the power of subpoena. It can bring in legally the men who wrote the Pentagon Papers, if they want to come, without subjecting them to criminal penalties. It can hear testimony in private about secret codes and sensitive diplomatic exchanges with other nations—that is to say, it can do all these useful things, which are part of its duty, if it has the facts and a decent and fair relationship with the White House and the Cabinet.

This, however, is precisely the problem. There is no such relationship today. The political game, as it is now played in Washington, is like a football game without boundaries, rules or officials. All the men in the press box can do is report the shambles. Who elected The New York Times to get into the game? some people ask, and the answer is nobody but the men who wrote the First Amendment to the Constitution.

Letters

The Vietnam Archives

In view of the debate centering around the publication by The New York Times and your newspaper of the so-called "Vietnam Archives," I feel constrained to add the following thoughts to the record. I have very little sympathy for and a great deal of disappointment in the editors of The Times for having published these Vietnam revelations. How they obtained them is apparently a mystery, but it seems indisputable that whatever the source, they were clearly marked "Top Secret." Nevertheless, The Times accepted them, purchased is probably more apt, and unilaterally determined that the public had the right to know their contents. Of course, this judgment is exactly opposite the one made by the two successive administrations in Washington, who by labeling these papers "Top Secret" had determined that the public at this

point should not be made aware of their contents. Without attempting to argue the merits of the decision to withhold this information from the public, the fact remains that two administrations acting in a manner heretofore unquestioned had decided that it would not yet be in the national interest to have general dissemination of this Vietnam material.

Without indicating that their action has violated national security laws, The Times further claims that its rights to freedom of the press under the First Amendment are violated by the court injunction temporarily halting their publication. However, the First Amendment has its limitations, even for The New York Times. One cannot assert the Bill of Rights as justification for violating the law. Label and slander laws demonstrate this.

BRUSSELS.

Personal Role

One part of the force reduction theme is the growth of Brezhnev's personal ascendancy in the Soviet leadership. Through he had some touchy business to do here at the East German party congress—namely shuffling former party leader Walter Ulbricht even further off stage—Brezhnev did not come here merely as the head of a delegation of prestigious Russian leaders. He was the only

big chess in the whole Soviet delegation. Apparently he has been authorized, as never before, to act for all his colleagues in the Soviet leadership.

This rising personal role corresponds exactly with the increasing stress on force reduction. On March 30, in his opening speech to the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist party, Brezhnev raised the force reduction issue so cryptically that hardly anybody noticed it. On May 14, in a speech in Leningrad, he underlined the point he had tried to make earlier.

On June 11, in a Moscow speech, he spoke of force reduction around the world in the most emphatic tones.

West German officials who have dealt extensively with the Russians believe that Brezhnev only gained a sure majority in the pollbook at the 24th Congress and that now he is speaking with glowing clarity on an issue he had to muffle when his support was less certain.

The second element in the picture is Soviet confidence about the security of their position in Eastern Europe. The Bonn-Moscow treaty which has been signed and awaits ratification confirms existing borders. The Berlin agreement which is now in the works will almost certainly seal the diplomatic seal on the division of Germany. And even in East Germany, as Brezhnev's public appearance indicates, hostility to the regime and the Soviet Union has waned to an extraordinary degree.

In these conditions the Russians can afford to wind down the large and expensive force they maintain in East Germany with a minimum of risk. If they do the winding-down by arrangement with the United States, they will actually legitimize a troop presence that seems increasingly

Secrecy vs. Security

By C. L. Sulzberger

PONT-SAINTE-MAXENCE, France.—One glaring difference between free government and government by restraint comes in their contrasting views of the press. Authoritarian regimes insist on deciding themselves what is proper for the people to know.

Lenin wrote: "Just as the army cannot fight without arms, so the party cannot carry out its ideological mission without that efficient and powerful weapon, the press... We cannot put the press into unworkable hands."

There has never been a press problem in the Soviet Union. Lee Hills, when president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, observed several years ago: "Manipulation of the news is the Soviet way of manipulating people, and this manipulation of human beings is the biggest difference between communism and our system."

Free government accepts the principle of press freedom but seeks to insure that such freedom doesn't impinge upon national security. This has produced legal restrictions which never quite seem to work.

Articles 89 and 100 of the West German Penal Code ban publication of information deemed prejudicial to "the interest of the Federal Republic," a vague concept already successfully challenged by one magazine. The French Code of Article 78 prohibits disclosure of "military information which has not been made public by the competent authority and whose disclosure is manifestly of a nature to prejudice national defense."

The French have been rather successful in making this side and one consequence has been periodic complaints about government interference with the information media. The British Official Secrets Act (comprising three separate laws of 1911, 1920 and 1939) bans information "prejudicial to the safety or interests of the state" or publication or even retention of an official document by anyone who "has no right to retain it."

But the British have had trouble reconciling law and liberty. Long before the secrets legislation, William Howard Russell of The Times of London horrified the government when he wrote of the "incompetency, lethargy, aristocratic hauteur, official indifference, favor, routine, perverseness and stupidity" on the Crimean battlefield.

The concept of official secrets was grossly misused when the whole world knew the story of King Edward VIII's impending abdication, but Englishmen had to glean what they could from foreign reports. This year The London Sunday Telegraph won an action brought against it by the government for publishing a

classified report that manifestly should not have been classified. The British law is both too broad in its application and too feeble in its authority.

For its part, the United States tried twice (1798 and 1918) to legislate against security intrusions—a "sedition." The first short-lived effort banned "scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government." The second, enacted under Wilson during World War I, aimed at socialists and pacifists—and also failed.

Madison's Warning
In 1788 James Madison warned against "gradual and silent encroachments" against liberties including that of the press. Ever since, since Horace—except Eisenhower—had sharp dispute with that institution. The Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon Administrations sought in various ways to manage the news (quoting a Pentagon official: "part of the arsenal of weaponry." This is the philosophical, legal and political background to the specific argument between The New York Times and the government over publication of classified reports. It is a sour note that the U.S. legal structure is a constant that federal action may be pressed under the espionage law.

Once I asked Eisenhower whether he thought an official secret set desirable and he indignantly rejected the idea, saying he would never muzzle the press. This might not necessarily be the case with a well-informed and impartial referee who could be consulted by private and public media, but the implied danger are frightening.

A Risk
Certainly there is risk in the absence of some such machinery, as demonstrated during World War II when a newspaper disclosed that the U.S.A. had broken the Japanese naval code. But there is also risk in even too templating legal blockage of such disclosures. It is better to use to accomplish "gradual and silent encroachments."

Moreover it is ridiculous to consider steps against press publication of classified documents while government officials are permitted to rush into print with memoirs quoting secret papers. The spate of books following President Kennedy's death, to say nothing of Lyndon Johnson's forthcoming recollections, are notable examples.

Thousands of highly classified documents have been removed from official files in recent years by American officials planning to write about them. It is ridiculous to even consider press violation of security when a free hand allowed the officials who themselves make the policy of secrecy.

Brezhnev Out Front

By Joseph Kraft

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In these conditions the Russians can afford to wind down the large and expensive force they maintain in East Germany with a minimum of risk. If they do the winding-down by arrangement with the United States, they will actually legitimize a troop presence that seems increasingly

open to question. The Red Army forces which originally came to East Germany as an army of occupation would stay on as part of the long-term security arrangements for postwar Europe.

In West's Court

Finally, it is clear that when Brezhnev talks about reduction he is mainly playing in the court of the West, and especially the United States. He is suggesting to this country's European allies that their security will improve if American forces leave the Continent. He is playing on the growing anti-defense sentiments in American opinion. And far from concentrating on Europe, where a rough party is at least thinkable, he has been suggesting that prospects for peace would be improved if the United States reduced its naval presence in the Mediterranean and the Pacific to the level of the Soviet Navy.

What all this means is that Brezhnev's propositions cannot simply be rejected as pure propaganda in the manner dear to old NATO enthusiasts. Neither can they be fobbed off by the delaying tactics originally devised by Dean Rusk and now being applied by Secretary of State William Rogers.

The appropriate Western reaction is to take Brezhnev at his word. That means proposing reduction of the particular Soviet forces that are a genuine threat—namely the planes and armor that are in position to go against Western Europe on quick notice. It also means drawing up rules limiting troop movement across international lines which would at least inhibit such barbarisms as the Czech invasion of 1968. Most of all it means taking seriously what is more and more emerging as the major theme of the major Communist leader in the world.

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Table of domestic bond sales with columns for Bond, Sales In, High, Low, Last, and Net change.

Bond Sales on the New York Stock Exchange

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Advertisement for Lazard Frères & Co. with the text 'We are pleased to announce the following appointments:' and listing Kevin J. Bradley and David B. Wray as Vice President-Portfolio Management and Vice President-Research respectively.

N.Y. Stock Market

The Week on Wall Street

Table of N.Y. Stock Market data including various stock indices and individual stock prices.

Table of Foreign Bonds data listing various international bond issues and their prices.

Table of N.Y. Stock Exchange data showing trading volume and market activity.

Table of American Exchange data listing various American stock and bond issues.

Table of Treasury Bills data showing government securities and their yields.

Table of Market Averages data providing summary statistics for the market.

Table of Bank Stock Quotations data listing prices for various financial institutions.

Advertisement for Marine Midland Bank featuring a large logo and text about international business services.

Advertisement for Mutual Fund Performance Survey, highlighting investment performance and offering a trial offer.

Advertisement for Aldo Ermini, Vice President of Paine Webber International Inc., with contact information.

Advertisement for Pacific Seaboard Fund N.V., providing details about the fund and its shares.

Advertisement for Eurotelex, a communication service, with contact details for P. Lichau S.A.

Advertisement for The First Boston Corporation, a securities firm, with a list of office locations.

Advertisement for Marine Midland Bank, reiterating its international business services and contact information.

Advertisement for Mutual Fund Performance Survey, providing more details about the survey and investment options.

Advertisement for Paine Webber Jackson & Curtis, a financial services firm, with contact information.

Advertisement for Pacific Seaboard Fund N.V., providing further information about the fund's performance and shares.

Advertisement for Eurotelex, highlighting the benefits of their communication service.

Advertisement for The First Boston Corporation, emphasizing its role as a leading securities firm.

Large advertisement for Videomaster, featuring the headline 'INSTANT AUSTRALIAN PRICES ARE NOW ON VIDEOMASTER' and an image of the device.

PEANUTS

1. I HAVE A QUESTION
PSYCHIATRIC HELP \$4

2. WHAT IF YOUR ADVICE DOESN'T HELP ME? DO I GET MY MONEY BACK?

3. NO, BECAUSE AS SOON AS YOU PAY ME, I RUN RIGHT OUT AND SPEND IT

4. THAT'S ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS THEY TEACH YOU IN MEDICAL SCHOOL!

B.C.

1. HI THERE, HOW'S IT GOING?

2. HUH?

3. WHY DON'T YOU CLEAN OUT YOUR EARS, STUPID!

4. [Sound effect: CRUNCH CRUNCH]

EILABNER

1. HOLD THOSE BOOKS UNTIL MISS D. BROWN ARRIVES!

2. ??-26 WAYS TO SUBDUCE A LOVE-CRAZED ADMIRER!

3. *HOW TO SAY NO TO JOE NAMATH!

4. *14 WAYS OF DISCOURAGING OMAR SHARIF!

5. *HOW TO TURN DOWN THE TITLE OF "MISS UNIVERSE" WITHOUT HURTING ANYONE'S FEELINGS!

REETLE BAILEY

1. HERE COME GARGE AND OTTO BACK FROM TOWN!!

2. I THINK IT WAS FIXED! SOME FRENCH POODLE WON THE "BEST GROOMED" AT THE DOG SHOW!

MISS PEACH

1. KELLY SCHOOL'S SUMMER JOB PLACEMENT SERVICE

2. "YOUR SUMMER WILL BE MUCH MORE SUNNY, IF YOU HAVE SOME SPENDING MONEY"

3. NOW LET'S SEE--WE HAVE SOME OPENINGS FOR GARAGE-CLEANERS, TOPSOIL-TURNERS, AND DRIVEWAY-SWEEPERS.

4. ARE YOU JOKING? WE WANT EXECUTIVE POSITIONS!

5. RIGHT! LAST WEEK WE WORKED AS EXECUTIVE DANDELION-PICKERS!

BUZ SAWYER

1. "BOY, I DIG YOUR RED SLACKS, DAD, AND WOW! MOM IN HOT PANTS."

2. DON'T BE SHOCKED, DENG. AT MY AGE I DON'T WEAR THEM IN PUBLIC.

3. WELL, I DUNNO, MRS. SAWYER WITH A FIGURE LIKE YOURS, YOU COULD WEAR THEM ANYWHERE.

4. THANK YOU, ROOSTER, BUT I'LL GO CHANGE.

5. WE HEARD YOU PLAYING ROCK WHEN WE CAME IN, DAD. I DIDN'T THINK YOU LIKED IT.

6. I WAS JUST BANGING AROUND, TRYING TO GET THE FEEL OF IT, SON. I LIKE ALL MUSIC.

WIZARD of ID

1. THE CONSERVATIVES AND THE RADICALS ARE FIGHTING AGAIN.

2. HOW CAN YOU TELL WHO'S WHO?

3. THE CONSERVATIVES ARE THE ONES IN THE HERRINGBONE SUITS.

REX MORGAN M.D.

1. YOU DON'T MIND IF WE JUST SIT HERE IN THE CAR FOR A FEW MOMENTS, DO YOU, DR. MORGAN? IT'S SO BEAUTIFUL, IT'S BREATHTAKING!

2. WE'RE IN NO HEAVEN, HELP!

3. DO YOU THINK IT STRANGE THAT I DON'T ENJOY THE COMPANY OF MEN IN MY AGE GROUP?

4. PERHAPS IT'S BECAUSE YOU'VE SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME WITH OLDER PERSONS!

5. BY CHOICE, DR. MORGAN! AND I KNOW THAT IF I EVER MARRY, IT WILL BE TO A MAN OLDER THAN I--A MAN YOUR AGE! FOR EXAMPLE, I FEEL A RAPPORT WITH YOU! YOU'RE SO EASY TO BE WITH--

POGO

1. HERE COMES SOMEBODY... IT MUST BE THE PUP DOG... GET HIM!

2. ...FOR A MILLION DOLLARS!

3. (AWAST! YOU MASHERS!)

4. WANT IF I WAREN'T HAMPERED BY MY HAMPER, I'D LEARN YOU TO HOLD UP THE U.S. LAUNDRIES!

RIP KIRBY

1. GREAT SCOTT! I NEVER DREAMED THAT...

2. AWK!

3. AWK! THAT'S THE NICEST THING ANYBODY EVER SAID TO ME!

BLONDIE

1. WHAT HAVE YOU GOT FOR A SANDWICH ON A HOT SUMMER NIGHT?

2. NOT MUCH.

3. SHE'S RIGHT--THE PICKINS ARE PRETTY SLIM IN HERE.

4. CRUNCH CRUNCH

5. YOU KNOW, AN ICE CUBE SANDWICH ISN'T BAD IF YOU PUT PLENTY OF KETCH-UP ON IT.

BRIDGE By Alan Truscott

Benito Garozzo, of Rome, is reputed to be one of the world's most aggressive bluffers, and he proved it on the diagrammed deal. It was played in a Sunday Times invitation pair tournament in London, in which he teamed with Omar Sharif to finish second in a powerful field.

Sharif as North opened one diamond and Garozzo responded one spade rather than one heart--following the tendency of many European experts to bid a short suit before a long one in certain situations.

North raised spades, and South invited game with a bid of three spades--keeping his heart suit as a possible surprise for the defenders in the play.

North accepted the invitation and West led the club king. When the dummy appeared, South raised the expected his ace, a raise which had been indicated by the state of the match. The trump suit was abaky and the chance of establishing and utilizing the heart suit seemed slight. Instead, South attacked diamonds, hoping the defenders would not have a ruff available.

A diamond to the jack was taken by the king and West led the club queen, which South ruffed. The diamond ten was played, and when East won with the ace he made a good shift to a low trump.

It might have been right to play the spade jack, but South judged the situation correctly by winning with the ace. He then entered dummy with a diamond and ruffed a club to reach this position:

NORTH		EAST	
♠ K7	♠ A10	♠ 1085	♠ Q102
♥ A1	♥ 8	♥ 8	♥ 8
♦ 8	♦ 8	♦ 8	♦ 8
♣ 964	♣ 34	♣ 1085	♣ Q102

Both sides were vulnerable. The bidding:

North	East	South	West	
1♦	Pass	3♠	Pass	
2♠	Pass	3♠	Pass	
4♠	Pass	Pass	Pass	
West	led	the	club	king.

Solution to Friday's Puzzle

FLAIR	RIGHT	MOON
TIME	ORDE	ELITE
IMITATION	RIXION	
TIGER	SHOP	GYPS
STAIR	ARUBA	
DAYS	TORRID	
SKIS	DIAL	SCARE
CLIMB	ASIA	ORCAN
ASSAULT	HUSH	BIENT
NEARLY	CRUI	
BLIND	DRINKS	
ROTC	NEMO	ADAMO
APART	ABLE	BAKER
WACON	REID	REAR
SHOWS	TYROID	EDDY

DENNIS THE MENACE

1. I JUST THOUGHT YOU'D LIKE TO KNOW, DAD... EVERYTHING IS OKAY UNDER THE CAR!

JUMBLE—that scrambled word game

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

ROPEA

YONOL

WARROH

VORCLE

Print the SURPRISE ANSWER here BY A

Thanks to your slick lawyer, I'm turning you loose.

HOW THE ACCUSED MAN ESCAPED THE HANGMAN'S NOOSE.

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

(Answers tomorrow)

Saturday's Jumble: JULIP KHAKI CHERKY LEAVEN

Anytime sticks out just a little over a foot--THE ANKLE

BOOKS

NOBODY

The Story of Bert Williams

By Ann Charters. Macmillan. 157 pp. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Henry Pleasants

MRS. CHARTERS, in this affectionate and lucid biography, describes Bert Williams as the first Negro entertainer in America to win the wholehearted admiration of white audiences. In a Variety poll in 1933, he ranked high in a list of the ten most important comedians in the history of the American popular theater. And W.C. Fields called him "the funniest man I ever saw and the saddest man I ever knew."

He was born in 1874 and died in 1922, from 1910 until 1918 he was a star of the vaudeville circuit, sharing top billing and comedy skills with Eddie Cantor, Leon Errol, Will Rogers and Ed Wynn, and anticipating by some 20 years the breakthrough of Ethel Waters as a black headliner in a white company in Irving Berlin's "As Thousands Cheer" in 1933. But he did not end at the time--could not anticipate Mrs. Waters's subsequent triumph in straight drama in "Mammy's Daughters" and "A Member of the Wedding."

That was why he was so sad. As Mrs. Charters puts it, simply and aptly: "The life of the comedian Bert Williams is the story of a man neatly trapped by the prejudice and intolerance of his times. He was a great actor, comedian by the theater's standards, a star of his generation; the minstrel show stereotype of a dim-witted, stumblingly down-at-the-heels, down-on-his-luck dandy. No one, apparently, ever played the part better than he. And no one, in his private life, can have had less in common with the part. He was born not in the South, or anywhere else in the United States, but in Antigua, West Indies, of mixed Danish, Spanish and African blood. He was very light-skinned, intelligent, well read, articulate--and lonely.

When he broke into show business in San Francisco in 1892, there was only one road to success for a black man in the American theater, and that was to play the black man not as the black man really was, but as he had been represented since before the Civil War by white comedians in blackface imitating black men imitating white men and making a comical mess of it.

Bert Williams was not the first to compound the indignity by putting on burnt cork to imitate white men imitating black men. But he achieved the more sympathetic caricature than any other comedian, white or black. When he first appeared with the Ziegfeld Follies in 1910, the critic Ashton Stevens said of him: "Bert Williams is the Mark Twain of his color. His was a kindly, infectious humor that made humans of us all."

Mrs. Charters puts it this way: "Like Chaplin, he used his sense of humor to create a stage character who endured and actually triumphed despite the repeated injustices of life. If the burnt cork mask was his audience's

ideal 'toon,' he gave it to him as a comedian. Not until I was able to see it as another person," he is interviewed, "that my self-humor developed." The truth was that he was stuck with life. "Naturally reserved," Mrs. Charters, "at first behind the blackface makeup as the years went by, he did not remove the disguise." He may not, by then, wanted to. It was not a disguise; it was also a defense. As a West Indian he never at home in any American other than that of a few ironies. He was not black, to be black, nor white, to be white. In the racism of the time he was a pathetic observer rather than a participant. He kept his company and his own. He was a chain smoker, a quiet drinker, an insouciant and prodigious reader.

His favorite quotation was Aristotle: "Is there any happiness as for a man? To be raised above the common things where he may have prospect of the order of a god and error of man?"

He may have achieved prospect, but it brought him happiness. Others were the vicarities of his insights. Williams," said Booker T. Washington, "has done more for race than I have. He smiles way into people's hearts."

There is no picture of Bert Williams that shows him in blackface or out. But any can smile. An artist makes a smile. And Bert Williams have been a very great artist.

Henry Pleasants is a critic of the International Herald Tribune.

Prague Celebrates Kepler Anniversary

PRAGUE, June 20 (AP)—Prague, the Czech capital, celebrated the 400th anniversary of astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) here today. The new exhibition, "Johannes Kepler," from Czechoslovakian foreign museums, includes a portrait of the astronomer, a portrait of his teacher Tycho Brahe and a portrait of his student Galileo Galilei.

The exhibition is in the Belvedere Palace where Kepler once worked.

CROSSWORD

By Will

ACROSS

1 Snake's warning

5 Enlarges a hole

10 Nostra

14 Dill

15 Hatred

17 What for one

18 Wordless output

19 Historic river

20 Science of "how who gets what"

22 Pretends

24 Slight hollow

25 Emperor of 10th century

26 High point of pupil's day

29 Go away

33 Happening

34 Watchful

35 N. Y., Ill., Cal., etc.

36 Move suddenly

37 Farewell, in Sonora

38 Grape juice

39 Fruit drink

40 Cookies

41 Cubic measure

42 Reserve funds

44 Musical symbols

45 Downwind

46 Do a plaster job

47 Ballpoint-pen item

50 Joins

54 Grandparental

55 Long tale

57 Extent

58 Bog

59 Brahman, for one

60 Soothe

61 Coaster

62 Moving

63 Stage direction

DOWN

1 Fastener

2 Preposition

3 Water animal

4 Grating

5 Spring chairs

6 — of Nantes

7 Troubles

8 Toby

9 Gary rights

10 Eddie of musicals

11 U. S. patriot

12 Musical piece

13 Solemn assent

21 Examination unit

23 French position

25 Vegetable oil

26 Fortification

27 Dodge

28 First asteroid

29 Does a coup job

30 Kind of spear

31 Seize by force

32 Brings under control

34 Saw

37 Plant of cant family

38 Flat brew

40 Retail

41 Climb in a w

43 Followed

44 Postal term

46 Raccoon's relative

47 Drives into

48 — are

49 Burial

50 Early Roman box

51 Essential part of Hindu of low caste

52 Hindu of low caste

56 Season

58 Vegas or Pa

مكازم التحصيل

Observer

The Secret Glut

By Russell Baker

WASHINGTON.—In Washington classified documents are piling up in the corridors of the Pentagon, the State Department and the White House, and the men who are supposed to leak them are in despair.



Baker

At the Pentagon the other day, for example, reporters and famous syndicated columnists were going out of their way to avoid the Office of Overt Document Leakage. The man in charge there, whose code name is Bill, was standing in the hall buttonholing complete strangers.

mediately, the first wheelbarrow pusher told Bill. "In the national security," the other explained. "What do they reveal?" Bill asked. He was near collapse.

"That America's enemies everywhere are moving ahead in every conceivable kind of armament and that Congress should therefore vote us more money at once," said the first wheelbarrow pusher.

"Why don't you declassify them and issue them as press releases?" "Don't talk nonsense at a time like this," Bill blubbered. "No editor in his right mind would believe any of this stuff if it weren't put 'classified' labels on it."

Quest For a Superdog

By John Hanrahan

EDGEWOOD, Md. (WP).—Soon after they are born, the German shepherd puppies are placed in a refrigerator, temperature 90 degrees, for one minute. Then they are put into a device that looks like a tilted merry-go-round and whirled about for a minute.



Candidates for "smartest dog" program romp with Bob Bishoff.

It's all part of a breeding and testing program that the Army says will result in the "world's smartest dogs" in about ten years. The dogs are to be used in scores of military and non-military endeavors.

Col. M. W. Castleberry, the commander of the "superdog" unit, says that the initial chilling and whirling of the puppies makes for a better dog in later life.

Russian scientists have demonstrated "conclusively," he says, that when puppies are subjected to slight stress, such as cold and whirling soon after they are born, this produces them for greater stress in later life, enabling them to perform tasks in situations in which other dogs would be too scared or too cold to act.

The Army anticipates that by the end of the breeding program it will have developed dogs that are superior in physical condition, trainability, intelligence, stability, temperament and ability to perform difficult tasks under the most rigorous and confusing conditions.

PEOPLE: Linares Dispatches A Cape's Dozen

Sebastian Falomo Linares, 22, whose earnings of more than \$1 million a year are surpassed only by the annual fees commanded by El Cordero, was annoyed and embarrassed by the failure of the Impresario of Madrid's Las Ventas ring to include him on the bill of the annual San Isidro bullfight festival.



SOMEbody UP THERE keeping an eye out for Clint Walker, who under open-heart surgery after a pole tip pierced his heart...

Linares' cape and muleta work in Saturday's marathon was not exceptional, but he made up for artistic flaws with unannounced stamina. He used 26 sword strokes to kill his quarry, was tossed about by the wind and fell out of him once, and finished, splattered with blood, in the old-fashioned way, letting the 13th bull run into the sword.

Howard Hughes, the reclusive billionaire believed living in the Bahamas after his mysterious departure from Las Vegas last November, was divorced over the weekend by Jean Peters, his wife of 14 years.

Abbeid Madjid Marry Bah's "Poor Richard's Own Life Church" has issued first list of "Saints," including: Neanderthal Man, Sah first human development, Patron Saint of the salt chucker; Mark Twain, 6th human laughter; Clarence...

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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PERSONALS NEAR OCEAN please contact urgently HILTON HOTEL, 123 Rue de Valenciennes, Paris. Tel: 863-38-32.

PERSONALS LINDA WATSON please contact Editor, 123 Rue de Valenciennes, Paris. Tel: 863-38-32.

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